

LUTHERAN WORLD

**PUBLICATION OF THE
LUTHERAN WORLD FEDERATION**

MARCH

1959

Vol. V, No. 4

**EUROPE AND THE UNDERDEVELOPED
AFRICAN COUNTRIES**

A.A.J. VAN BILSEN

**THE NEW AFRICA AND AN OLD
IMPERATIVE**

JAN HERMELINK

CONFESSIONS AND CHURCHES

— AN AFRO-ASIAN SYMPOSIUM EDITED BY ARNE SOVIK

CONTENTS

Europe and the Underdeveloped African Countries, by A. A. J. van Bilsen	340
The New Africa and an Old Imperative, by Jan Hermelink	350
Confessions and Churches — an Afro-Asian Symposium, edited by Arne Sovik	363

FROM THE WORK OF THE LUTHERAN WORLD FEDERATION AND THE ECUMENICAL WORLD

Geneva Diary, by Carl E. Lund-Quist	375
<i>Lutheran Foreign Missions Conference</i>	
From 1919 to 1959, by Oscar R. Rolander	378
<i>Theology</i>	
Maintaining a Movement: The Oslo Congress for Church Music, by Oskar Söhnngen . .	380
<i>World Service</i>	
The Evangel and Evangelism, by Herbert Wild	384
<i>Committee on Latin America</i>	
Younger Churches in Latin America, by Johannes Pfeiffer	386
<i>World Council of Churches</i>	
Rapid Social Change: Three Years of Study, by Paul Abrecht	388
<i>Basel Bible Society</i>	
Wanted: Old Bibles, by Philipp Schmidt	391

FROM LANDS AND CHURCHES

<i>Germany</i>	
What the Statistics Say about Mixed Marriages, by Paul Zieger	393
Integrating Asian and African Students, by Dieter Danckwortt	395
<i>Sweden</i>	
More about the Ordination of Women Controversy, by Sten Rodhe	397
<i>Liberia</i>	
A Different Policy on Polygamy, by Harvey J. Currans	404
Untangled Loma, by Wesley Sadler	407

BOOK REVIEWS

Scripture, Faith and Reason in Luther (David Löfgren, Martin Schloemann, Gunnar Hillerdal)	414
In Honor of Thurneysen and H. Rendtorff (Hans-Joachim Thilo, Arno Lehmann) . . .	424
The Times Test the Church (Paul Heyne)	426
Two Books on the Ministry and Ordination (Hans Martin Müller)	427
The Renaissance of Old Testament Theology (Horace D. Hummel)	431
Aids to New Testament Study (Gerhard Delling)	434

CORRESPONDENCE	438
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EDITORIAL: "Go and Teach All Nations," by Hans Bolewski.	447
Editorial Notes	451
Calendar of Events	453

Supplement: *Literature Survey* for March, 1959

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*Great God, in heaven's vault,
Great Being, our one true Shield,
Great Being, our one true Stay,
Great "I AM," steadfast, faithful,
Thou Dweller in heaven's heights,
Fashioner of heaven's expanse,
Sovereign of heaven's spheres,
Fount and dispenser of all life.*

*Blindness our lot, thy will for us,
Till thy huntsman's clarion sounded
Seeking out thy wandering quarry.
Mighty Chief, thou, Mighty Leader,
Our enemies thou makest brothers,
With thine own mantle dost shield us—
While from nailed hands and pierced feet
Blood flows forth in living streams.*

*Thy blood flows to make us whole,
Though we sick long not for healing.
Hast thou paid it without our plea,
Has heaven o'ertak'n our prayerless hearts?*

NTSIKANA GABA

Europe and the Underdeveloped African Countries

A New World

The underdeveloped countries constitute an economic problem of tremendous proportions. Of course they are not only an economic problem. They are even more a political problem. The age of colonization awakened Asia and Africa to an awareness of economic, social, intellectual and cultural needs. Hunger, want, illiteracy—these had been there for centuries. But the awareness of their presence, the revolutionary “push” to overcome them and the determination to advance first arose from the antithesis to the colonizers and the Western world, from the contrast between rich and poor, the free and the subjugated, the rulers and the ruled. It has therefore been said, and rightly, that in the awakening of the people of Asia and Africa the social revolution has been projected into the present day. The craving for freedom and the consciousness of human dignity are universal human values. But through the influence of the West, through the ideas of the French and American revolutions, through the idea of the right of peoples to self-determination, and in a special way through Christianity, these values received new stimuli and a new stamp: all men are brothers. Thus the end of the hegemony of the western European powers provided the countries which had hitherto been dependent and less developed with the opportunity of attaining their political freedom.

The emancipation of the former colonial peoples produced in vast areas of the world a political, and, in many cases, also a strategical vacuum. In the colonial age Asia and Africa were silent, politically and strategically. Their voice was never heard, and this gave these continents their peculiar, apparent political stability.

At Bandung the solidarity of the poor nations became evident for the first time. It was seen to run athwart all ideological fronts. Neutralist countries such as India and Indonesia stood side by side with communistic countries, such as China and North Viet Nam, and even with countries allied with the US, such as Japan and the Philippines. Countries of Asia, Africa and the Middle East all stood together as brothers, all joined in speaking out against nuclear weapons and colonialism and in favor of helping to free dependent countries in Africa, in favor of economic progress and of the development and economic expansion of the underdeveloped countries.

The problem of the underdeveloped countries of Africa is not essentially different from the problem in Asia, but there are certain problems which are

specifically African; for example, the existence of privileged white minorities in an African environment in the Union of South Africa, Rhodesia, Kenya, Algeria, etc. These problems constitute one part of the world problem of "under-development."

I

From Europe: Eurafrica

Why is it that in Europe there is a very strong tendency to look upon Africa as a *special* problem, in some cases in fact even as a special European problem? Is Africa really the common property of Europe? Is there a basis in fact for a Eurafrican ideology, and are there any prospects for such an ideology?

The answer is many-faceted. For one thing, there are parts of Africa, north of the Sahara, which are geographically and historically so close to parts of Europe that together they seem to form a natural and indivisible environment for living. I recall how once during a discussion in Capetown, Marshal Smuts, prime minister of the Union of South Africa at that time, declared that the northern boundaries of Africa are not the Mediterranean Sea but the Sahara. "Seas are highways, not boundaries," he said, "but deserts are natural boundaries."

In the days of the Roman Empire one could just as well have called North Africa "Southern Europe." On the other hand, in the seventh century Islam erected a 1000-year iron curtain in North Africa which cut these countries off from Europe spiritually, economically and politically. Smuts wanted to remove North Africa from *his* Africa. France, on the other hand, would like, through assimilation and integration, to include the western part of North Africa in *its* Europe. For the Englishman, Egypt is a part of the Near East. But geography and history, Islam and the Arabian revolution have resulted in North Africa belonging to Africa as much as it does to the Arab world. All theories about Africa which do not take full account of these facts are doomed to failure. If Europe and Africa are to be united politically and economically, then the Arab world must not be excluded.

But now a second observation is necessary: Africa, together with the Middle East, is the closest and the best supplier of Europe's raw materials—and tomorrow perhaps even of the whole world's. If in the present world situation the East, through a policy of infiltration, were to succeed in detaching and shutting off the Middle East and Africa from Europe, it would be for us a catastrophe the scope of which no one can perceive in advance. Thus for Europe and the whole world Africa is a vital economic and strategic area. For European statesmen "Eurafrica" is a type of security system, an answer to the vacuum. Belgium's present foreign minister, formerly its colonial minister, Pierre Wigny, is in the habit of stating his Eurafrican faith thus: Africa provides the raw materials, Europe the brain, the understanding, which makes life for the whole body possible. This means, according to him, that no matter what the political develop-

ments are Europe must always exercise a certain control over Africa. This neocolonialism stems from fear of the vacuum which would result were the forms of colonial government to disappear completely.

The same fear confronts us in what are basically colonial and often monopolistic business and finance methods which make short-range plans and want to avoid all risks even in the immediate future. At the present moment Eurafrican inclinations can develop in this form as a result of two other facts: Africa's backwardness (in comparison to Asia) in its striving for independence, and the cold war, which puts a noticeable damper on anticolonial tendencies in Washington. Africa's relative backwardness in regard to independence is also related to the fact that until recently leaders and an elite were lacking. A dependent country does not struggle for independence because it is hungry. But as soon as it has enough trained leaders, it makes its move, and a welfare state will not arrest the process.

Leaders, not Hunger

The proof is the Belgian Congo. In contrast to other dependent countries the Congo is a rich colony. The policy of Belgian paternalism has been that of the welfare state, leading to enlightened social legislation and the highest salaries for Africans in the whole of Africa, the Arabian and Asian parts included. But even this is not checking the rapid, and general, development of the striving for independence. Ten years ago no one in the Congo—apart from a few small white minorities which subscribed to Smuts's white pan-African doctrine—was interested in independence. India's and Pakistan's independence, affecting 450 million people, aroused no response in the Congo where there was no elite. But Ghana's independence (1957) and Guinea's (1958) have stirred the Congo to its roots. In 1947 Mrs. Paul Robeson, the wife of the Negro singer, called on me in Leopoldville. She had had the opportunity of speaking with a group of African office workers, at that time the most advanced Africans in the Congo (the technical term for them being *évolués*). She asked them if they didn't want to be independent. She was greeted with silence: they didn't understand what she was asking and took it almost for granted that Belgium would always rule their land. The Belgian officials believed that the important thing was that these people had enough to eat. But today, ten years later, there are repeated proclamations calling either for complete independence or gradual emancipation. It is now evident that the Belgian Congo lived in such complete tranquility for so many years only because it had no African leaders—but not because of any welfare state policy. The open striving for emancipation can be fixed almost to the very month, July, 1956, when the first African from the Congo graduated from a university. Belgium's entire colonial policy after the second world war labored under the illusion that higher salaries or better social provisions and

guarantees—i. e., a welfare state—could provide a substitute for independence. (With regard to the higher salaries and the living standard it must of course be pointed out that the average annual income of an African in the Congo working in agriculture comes to about \$13, while African industrial workers, office workers and trained specialists earn an average of \$34 a year.)

At the time that Africa moved to the center of the political stage, the cold war had already created a number of new world problems. The United States turned to a policy of military pacts and bases and entered upon a series of compromises which forced Rooseveltian anticolonialism into the background. NATO is based upon the cooperation of West European states, some of which are colonialist. All these factors bring it about that the colonial age in Africa does not come to an end as quickly as it did in Asia, and that ideas such as the Eurafrikan conception have been able to achieve currency.

If we look now at the behavior of European colonial nations toward their African territories, we find that even the most progressive governments continue to look upon the future of Africa as a projection of their own national interests and of those of their citizens who have settled in Africa.

I am not speaking here of, say, Portugal, which has simply made overseas provinces of its colonies, with a small group of assimilated inhabitants possessing the same civil and political rights as the whites and a colonial government in the 19th-century sense continuing on into the 20th century.

Up until now Belgium thought it stood in the shadows of the great colonial powers and, by reason of its welfare policy, outside the discussion. France strove for assimilation and integration, and its capabilities in this respect are indeed astonishing. It has not been shown, however, that, apart from a narrow upper stratum, whole peoples can be culturally assimilated. Add to this that from the economic point of view integration has very narrow boundaries insofar as the French themselves do not adjust their living standard so as to share the increase in their national income with the colored and Moslem French outside of continental France.

Great Britain too saw, and does see, the future of British Africa essentially as an extension of the mother country's sphere of interest. With regard to the racial problem, which is not a significant factor in Asia, Britain has exhibited at least as many weaknesses in handling it—in Rhodesia and Kenya, for example—as has France in Tunisia, Morocco and Algeria. When the protection of the privileges of British citizens was at stake, the colonialist pressure groups outweighed concerns for a stable future in Africa, to say nothing of Christian and humane obligations.

Even in the most progressive European circles, where emancipation and formal independence are familiar concepts, the colonial powers still see the future of Africa essentially in terms of a collaboration of British, French, Belgian and Portuguese domains or spheres of influence—perhaps even protected by military bases.

Now a look at the attitude of a "United Western Europe" toward Africa: what role was assigned to Africa in the European treaties which have been drawn up? In the Economic Council of Europe overseas and African territories appear only in their function as supplementary suppliers of resources. The Strasbourg plan for a Council of Europe, which had in view the relations between member countries and overseas territories, was nothing more than a resolution; Belgium and France did not extend the European conception of human rights to include Africa. The Coal and Steel Community is limited primarily to six European countries, even though interest has recently been awakened in the production possibilities of overseas territories. For the European army envisaged by the ill-fated European Defense Community, overseas territories were of interest only as a dependent appendage in which one could recruit soldiers, station European troops and draw up colonial troops. In another plan that miscarried the political integration of overseas territories came up. This was the plan for a federation of European states, a political community. The colonial governments emphatically rejected it.

The European Common Market is, to be sure, a decided advance. The agreement provides for special treatment of overseas territories, such as those of France and Belgium. But the question of what happens to the other African territories remains unanswered. There is also no hint of how African countries which have been included in the plan as dependent territories but in the near future will be independent are to be represented in the direction of the whole undertaking. Guinea's position is a case in point. Finally, the agreement is informed by European interests, not by African or genuinely common interests. The overseas territories remain appendages of their colonizing mother countries.

To sum up: Europe—whether a fifteen-, seventeen-, or six-state Europe—looks upon Africa as an appendage and on the basis of its European interests declares that Europe and Africa complement one another and need one another.

II

From Africa

But what does the situation look like from Africa? One can distinguish a number of currents in Africa. One is South African pan-Africanism. It rested, and still does rest, upon two assumptions. The first is the rule of a white minority which would like to surround South Africa with a glacis—the thicker the better—of friendly territories which, either with or without the protection of European mother countries, are also under the control of white colonists. As examples of this attitude we might point to what is going on in Southwest Africa, or South Africa's attempts with Southern Rhodesia.

The second element in Smuts's pan-African doctrine was a trade hegemony for South Africa (as an industrial state) to extend northward beyond the equator.

Today this South African expansion, which for ten years influenced the islands of white people all over South, East and Central Africa, has lost much of its power. It has been put on the defensive but lives on in the hearts of many white minorities in Africa. Apartheid is creating dangerous tensions not only within the Union of South Africa but also in the whole of Africa and in individual African countries. It is giving rise to a type of total antithesis comparable to the antithesis between East and West in Europe.

It is to be hoped that through contacts, discussions and a will on either side to understand the problems of the other, North and South will reach agreement — just as Europe hopes for agreement between East and West. Meanwhile, however, at the northern extremity of the old British Cape-to-Cairo constellation of Cecil Rhodes, i. e. in Egypt, a new star is rising—Egyptian nationalism. Already in 1922 at the high tide of colonial rule it was potent enough to force independence to be granted to Egypt. Today in a little less than ten years it has become an expansive, political power in the rest of Africa as well.

In his *Philosophy of Revolution* Nasser writes: "If there is a struggle going on in the heart of Africa, we cannot stand to one side. All peoples of the African continent have their eyes fixed on us, because we constitute the link with the outside world." After the second Afro-Asian conference in Cairo in 1957, in which the Russians also took part, a permanent secretariat of the Afro-Asian Solidarity Conference was established in Cairo. To get a proper conception of the rapid rise of Egyptian prestige among the African peoples south of the Sahara, one has to keep in mind not only the Aswan conflict, the French and British Suez action, the acceptance of Russian aid and the United Arab Republic, but the old tie between Arab nationalism and Islam as well, which for centuries has had spheres it has influenced and areas it has permeated in Africa, and which today has received a new lease on life. The link between the Arab peoples and Islam may also be of significance insofar as it marks out the possible limits of Arab influence in Africa. The Belgian Congo lies at the boundary of the South African perimeter and at the boundary of Islamic influence.

At present, however, the third and strongest current flows in Africa itself. Its deepest springs are in those parts of Africa south of the Sahara which have been shaped by Western colonization. Its mecca, at least for the moment, is Accra, the capital of Ghana.

The goals of this movement are a return to specifically African cultural values and an appropriation of certain Western ideas and skills. Christianity is either accepted or assimilated; at least it is not rejected, as in many Asian countries, as a hostile and foreign gospel. This pan-Africanism strives after political solidarity and fights against the splitting up of Africa. At the same time it is disturbed by particularistic currents or by certain tribal egoisms, which shake profoundly the solidarity of the young African states. This peculiar, tribal micronationalism is a strong force, but with centrifugal as well as attractive powers, as is evident from Ghana, the Sudan and the Belgian Congo.

Alongside this tribal nationalism is another whose purview is the colonial territory. This pan-Africanism moves out from Accra where it has found concrete expression in the fact of the independence of the first African state of this kind south of the Sahara. The primary source of the present striving for unification is West Africa. But in Central Africa, where French-African thinking is influential, the striving is also very much alive. For the present, no antithesis is discernible between Accra's pan-Africanism and Cairo's propaganda for African liberation and solidarity. The center of gravity in Africa as a whole is of course situated not in Cairo but in Africa south of the Sahara. An Egyptian hegemony in Africa is therefore as unlikely as a European. But Cairo can become, as Nasser says, the link between Africa and Asia. In any case, at the moment it is already the tie between Africa and the Soviet Union.

In April, 1958, the governments of the independent states north and south of the Sahara held a conference in Accra. At the end of the year there was another conference in which not only governments but also delegates from all parts of Africa, independent as well as colonial, took part. Following Gandhi's methods, the conference called for a battle of passive resistance against colonialism and imperialism, racism and "religious separatism." One of the goals is a modern political linking of regional groupings of countries into a pan-African commonwealth of "free and independent states of Africa."

The formula for a federation of a "United States of Africa" is, in the first instance, still terribly vague. No one can say what chance of success this pan-African movement has. But it is there and is beginning to acquire the force of a myth.

When we look at all the ferment in Africa and all the currents searching for direction, and if we then ask what Europe is ready to give Africa, we find that true Eurafrican cooperation is still a long way off.

III

Some Presuppositions of Positive Coexistence

There are a whole series of conditions and presuppositions apart from which it is impossible to conceive of any positive relation between Europe and Africa. I shall mention a few.

(1) The European states with colonial responsibility should decide conclusively to follow a policy of decolonization, to prepare their present colonial territories to become full-fledged states within reasonable limits of time; states with stable political, social and economic conditions, in which there are possibilities of rising in the social and economic scale, in which the people exercise some sort of control over the government and in which the distribution of the national income is as wide as possible.

Today decolonization is underway in the French territories, in most British territories and in Somaliland. In the Portuguese territories there appears to be

no hint of it. In the Congo, the Belgian government is now more inclined to decolonization. However, in my opinion the lack of educated leaders and of genuine political life in the Congo constitutes a not insignificant source of danger for the coming years. A middle class exists but a class of leaders has not been trained. (This produced the remarkable tranquility in the last decade.) There are no Sekou Tourés (Guinea), no Rabenandjaras (Madagascar) and no Bourguibas (Tunisia) in the Congo, men such as will be needed, inasmuch as the movement for independence cannot be arrested much longer. Political life has not been allowed to develop as in British and French territories, and the result is an absence of leading political personalities. A possible consequence is the formation of centrifugal forces which would threaten the Congo's political unity.

(2) Insofar as it is possible, Europe should seek to avoid following—or even appearing to follow—any kind of policy aimed at splitting up Africa. (Africans get such an impression, for example, when the capital investment funds of the Common Market flow only to certain African regions.) In other words, no favoritism in the granting of aid. On the contrary, aid from Europe should help to promote African solidarity.

(3) Europe as a whole—insofar as this is a reality or will become a reality—should renounce all claims to Africa as a purely European sphere of influence and all attempts to force Africa to military or political decisions. On the basis of their own interests Africans should decide to what extent they regard solidarity and cooperation with Europe as desirable.

(4) Africans should therefore have a part in deciding, in freedom, the future development of relations between Africa and Europe. We should therefore attach greater importance to a lively exchange of thinking, out of which a feeling of solidarity could grow.

(5) Europe should help Africa. Such joint efforts to help Africa would perhaps even be a task for thought and action in Europe as a whole. Africa needs above all knowledge, people to help, and capital. But capital is of no avail where knowledge is lacking. Knowledge is acquired only through thorough training. And in this area much can be done, also by private groups and non-colonial countries and peoples; for example, through scholarships bringing thousands of African men and women to Europe — not only students and persons with degrees, but members of older generations, who today are perhaps faced with the task of stepping into responsible positions in their countries.

Africa needs people, European people too. And it needs more than technical specialists. Would it not be possible for missionaries, young men and young women, teachers, architects, all sorts of people with differing degrees of education, to forgo an American or a colonial salary to work for African governments, African villages or African companies? I know people personally who are doing just that. For example, I know an African bishop who whenever he travels in Belgium says to young apprentices, young teachers and others just graduated

from the university: Give me three years of your life. And some of them have gone. They are superintending schools, building houses, they are helping.

Africa also needs capital, and here the capitalistic countries confront a difficult situation. The underdeveloped countries need private capital. But their main problem is to create their own national, indigenous capital, and private investment can hardly bring that about. They can, it is true, go the European way — which would take a century. But they don't want to wait. They are moving with the stream of the "revolution of rising expectations." The Soviets have a second way, one that creates capital rapidly. China is taking this way, apparently with success.

A Third Way

The question is whether there is a third way. I personally believe there is, although it differs from the way, traveled today again and again, of free private investment within the framework of a liberal economy. The solution I have in mind is this: the prosperous countries of the West would give a portion of their income to the new countries in the form of public funds, i. e. tax money. With this assistance the Africans could erect their social institutions—schools and hospitals, for example—and follow a lending policy looking toward individual and cooperative development leading to the mechanization of agriculture and the reorganization and standardization of small and middle-sized African industries.

This requires a planned economy. One might follow Nehru and call it a socialist economy, but then—when so-called "socialist" experiments are frowned upon at home—it would be necessary to recognize the special character and the special necessity of such an economic development. One should also not forget that under colonial government, let us say in the Belgian Congo, free economy is thoroughly one-sided and for the Africans does not even exist. When each year one receives from government officials a very carefully circumscribed economic assignment telling one that he is to plant so-and-so much cotton, that he is to do this and not do that, then one is *not* living in a free economy but in a "government socialism" *sui generis*. It is a socialism that is socialistic and planned only for the Africans, however, not for the Europeans. For them it is "liberal." Now the Africans already live in an economic system in which new capital multiplies rapidly because cotton and other agricultural products bring only a very low price and mine workers receive a very low wage. The peculiar thing about the situation of the African territories at the moment is that the capital gains produced under a colonial "government socialism" of this type flow *out* of the African countries. New states which have no capital will presumably nationalize industries based upon monopolistic concessions—mining, transport and power, for example. I also believe, however, that foreign capital which the African countries now need will have easier access to them, and to their secondary industries, if these monopolistic concerns no

longer belong to foreign finance groups. It should also be noted that the ground has been prepared by political pressure and (to take one example) the refusal of Western capital to finance nationalized industries, and by a certain raw materials policy belonging to the Soviet economic aid offensive which resulted from the Afro-Asian conference in Cairo in 1957.

The internationalization of such economic aid by the UN, a policy endorsed by the great powers but never seriously implemented, could provide a way out of the competition in economic aid with which we are threatened.

I might also add that all we do, hope and strive for in Africa—the creation of a relation of trust and confidence between Africans and Europeans, our efforts to assist Africa—should by no means be regarded as an exclusively European concern. From the many current discussions on the future of Africa I should like to see result an international association for African progress, dedicated to winning over world public opinion to the side of Africa, to promoting encounters of Africa and Africans with the rest of the world, to securing scholarships for Africans and thus to establishing an international fund. An international association of this kind could intervene on Africa's behalf at the UN and accomplish a great deal to help break down the walls between "colonial" and non-colonial peoples.

The future of Africa concerns the man and woman in Hannover, Helsinki, Athens, Warsaw, Rome and Belgrade just as much as the people in London, Brussels, Paris and Lisbon. No less does it affect the people in Washington and New Delhi. For the world has become an indivisible whole, and we should therefore work together in seeking solutions and ways which bring us closer to the goal—spiritually, technically and politically.

JAN HERMELINK

The New Africa and an Old Imperative

The following article is based primarily on observations made during a six-months' trip last winter to West, Central and East Africa. In view of the great differences among the churches and missions visited, it is only with great hesitation that I undertake to fit the individual impressions together into an overall picture. The generalizations necessitated by the limitations of space should therefore be supplemented by taking into account the facts in the individual churches and missions of Africa, and the great variance from one situation to another.

The Religious Environment

It is extremely difficult to characterize in a few words the religious situation in present-day Africa. One reason is that anything said about Africa is only partially true. Africa is not a country, it is a multitude of countries and peoples. Even remarks which are true of one section of a country, the south of Ghana, let us say, are far from being true of the plains area around Tamale in the north, which is predominantly Islamic. But this is not the only reason for caution. Another is that a fundamental change is taking place in the African religious situation at present. Any evaluation of the religious environment is therefore in danger of emphasizing one aspect of the change at the expense of another. Nevertheless one can discern three great forces confronting the churches and missions in Africa: the old African religions, Islam and the forces of secularization.

African Religion

Of all that we know about the characteristics common to African religions, the most important thing to remember in our encounter with the people of Africa is that in the old African way of life religion did not occupy a separate sphere. The old African religion permeated all areas of life. Everything in African art which has provided European sculpture and painting with powerful stimulation in recent decades is not in the first instance art but primarily symbol, the expression of the religious attitude of a group of people. This example perhaps serves to make clear what we mean when we talk about "African religion." We are talking about a totality, about the fact that all of man's life—his economic activity, political organization and family mores—has throughout a religious basis.

This wholeness of life, belonging as it did to the old religion, is now in process of dissolution. Yet in meeting Africans it would be a mistake to underestimate the extent to which the old view of life's wholeness persists. One can see it especially in the forms of communal life. The strong family ties, e.g., must not be

underestimated; the closest one comes to our idea of "personality" (which derives from the 19th century) is the idea of the total personality of a clan or a family. "Personality" is not understood, however, in the sense of an individual who fulfills himself. To say "Africa" is to say "community." And this goes back to the religious past of Africa.

A second important element deriving from old African religion is what modern study of religions has termed the "local presence" of deities. For example, a fertility deity such as is found in many places in Africa does not have an abstract reality; it is rather bound to the land of the tribe in which it is worshipped. This is of special significance insofar as many Africans, owing to the population movements brought on by modern economic development, no longer inhabit the ground their fathers did. Viewed against the backdrop of old African religion, this is not simply a process of urbanization. It is a deep, inner uprooting of a man, tearing him loose from the native soil where he has his roots.

A third characteristic deriving from the old African heritage is the way in which decisions are reached in African communal life. Two antipodal examples will serve to illustrate this. On the one hand, a group decision is not a process in which one person indicates what is to be done and the rest then carry out his wishes. A "*Führer* principle" or a tyranny is therefore out of the question. On the other hand—and this is often easily overlooked today—it is equally true that the process of decision is not that of the vote, with the numerical majority winning the day. Rather, a group comes to a decision through a palaver. People sit down together and talk over a problem, approaching it from many different angles until a general consensus emerges, which is never fixed and final but is nevertheless an expression, here and now, of the will of the group. Here again religious factors underlie the procedure. In a tyranny wisdom and power are regarded as represented solely in the person who specifies what is to be done. In a democracy wisdom and power are regarded as represented (ideally) solely in the numerical, statistically ascertainable majority. The African approach is a different one. It is related to the fact that decisions fall to the group—the "total personality."

One could now proceed further by saying that the old Africa, the old wholeness of life, the "primitive religion" (to use the term from the study of the history of religions) is in the process of dying out, and that these elements from the old religion are therefore mere vestiges which will soon disappear. But the remarkable thing is that the facts do not conform to the evolutionary pattern. On the contrary. Elements of the old religion are often emphasized by adherents of the new and thus increase in significance. Libation is an example. In West Africa, especially in the region that constitutes present-day Ghana, the communication with one's ancestors called for on festive occasions was through the libation ceremony: before partaking of palm wine some was poured out for one's ancestors, as an offering. This method of inducing communication with the mighty of the past is a typical element of old African religion. Today it has

found a place in the ceremonies connected with an institution deriving from Europe, the African parliament. Instead of simply replacing the old, the new has been integrated with the old, in this case, the procedure which had been followed when men assembled to undertake responsible action on behalf of the whole community.

In adopting Western patterns of life, the old African heritage has not simply been shoved to one side. Indeed there are points where the indigenous heritage is being drawn upon increasingly; and we can assume that these will increase still further in connection with the African nationalist movement which is not only a political but, at a much deeper level, a spiritual phenomenon.

And where is the indigenous African heritage to be found? If it is to be found at all, it will not be in the short period of oppression by the European colonial powers. If there is such a heritage it would be discoverable in those elements which still inhere in everyone, which are still present and which can still be drawn upon.

It is time that we face with all seriousness this revival of African religious consciousness which, while it can be a search for an indigenous cultural heritage, can also constitute an authentic religious force opposing the Christian gospel. Among educated people in Africa the consciousness of being African is on the increase, a fact which the impartial observer can only welcome, although for the Christians it gives rise to conflicts. I know a man who was in a position to become the next chief in an important spot in Ghanaian Togoland. Like his father, he is a Protestant Christian. His father could allow himself to be elected with the clear proviso that because he was a Christian he could not offer the official sacrifices that were required. A pagan relative then performed this duty in his stead. Today that would be impossible: the chief is expected to offer the sacrifice in person. This is a sign of the revival of African religious consciousness, which has its parallels in the transformation that can be observed at present in Hinduism and Buddhism. The man whom I mentioned chose not to live in Ghana at all. He is now working as a teacher in an American mission in Liberia, since he simply cannot bring himself to become involved in this conflict. But that is not a solution that is generally applicable. The series of conferences held by the National Christian Council of Ghana on "Christianity and African Culture" is a genuine attempt to determine the responsibility of the church with respect to the African heritage. But much work still remains for theology and social ethics.

Islam

For many Africans Islam is the new African religion. This is a fact we must see very clearly. It is well-known that Islam is expanding more rapidly in Africa than is Christianity. Between 1925 and 1952 the number of Protestant Christians rose from 1,800,000 to 10,200,000; in the same period of time it is estimated

that Islam enjoyed an increase of 30,000,000. I shall here mention three reasons for Islam's drawing power, reasons which at least play a part in this rapid increase.

One is that Islam is a "religion of minimum requirements." Upon becoming a Muslim one can continue to live much the same as before. No drastic changes are necessary in one's former, pagan pattern of life. One can retain several wives, and for many Africans who want to become Christians it is just this question that troubles their consciences. The person who becomes a Muslim does not need a new heart, such as Christian missionaries and pastors call for. One needs only to observe certain rules—the five daily prayers, fasting, payment of religious tax and pilgrimage to Mecca. That suffices.

The second thing that makes Islam attractive—something that raises yet another question for Christianity—is its simplicity. Anyone who has ever talked with African teachers or catechists who give confirmation instruction will have found, to his surprise, that they have exactly the same experience with the instruction as we of the "older" churches. In contrast to our "entrance ticket" to membership in the church—learning Luther's Small Catechism with all the explanations by heart—the Islamic creed is much less complicated. To hear it once is to remember it for a lifetime: "There is no God but Allah and Mohammed is his prophet."

The third thing that makes Islam attractive is the reality of brotherhood in Islam. It has also has its limits, to be sure. A whole series of problems are connected with it; there are instances where groups of faithful Muslims have undertaken the pilgrimage to Mecca, only to receive highly discriminatory treatment in the home countries of Islam, some of them being forcibly detained in Arabia after having been enticed to stay. In Africa, however, there is little or no evidence of such things. There the brotherhood of Islam appears to be something to which one can hold fast.

In Islam, it is true, there is a point at which the "minimum requirements" leave people unsatisfied. I recall a Tanganyikan man who grew up in Islam and found that it left him unsatisfied. He did not want merely a new, strict pattern of life; he also did not want to remain as he *was*—he wanted to become a different person. He wanted his heart to be transformed. That is precisely what does not happen in Islam, and for this reason the man became a Christian. There will always be individual instances where this happens, however.

The Forces of Secularization

The third force operative in the African religious environment is secularization. The rapid economic change going on in Africa is a fact of common knowledge. It is necessary to emphasize, however, that the key factor in secularization (by which I mean now the change in man's conception of life relieving him of the necessity of defining everything in religious terms and enabling him to deal objectively with his now neutral environment) is not the external, economic process. Spiritual and intellectual change goes before. It is the technological

frame of mind now invading Africa—more than the dissemination of actual technics—which is calling forth this change.

This frame of mind concerns not only what we call "technology." It is one of the characteristics of our modern, Western pattern of life, exercising a determining influence upon cultural processes and phenomena, e.g., education. What is the whole education system which has been built up in Africa but one huge technological undertaking for producing people with diplomas? It molds the African attitude to life—which has developed without being influenced, as in the West, by the Christian roots of Western civilization. The very fact that there are "things" with which one can deal objectively is related decisively to Christian faith in God the Creator, who frees men to look upon things as things and not as part of a fearful, religiously charged environment infested with demons. This outlook, which in many cases is now invading Africa in a form fully dissociated from Christianity, is the most potent factor in the dissolution of the old African pattern of life, however much the old pattern may still be operative.

Naturally one may exclaim when he thinks of the cultural influences streaming into Africa via the schools, radio, motion pictures and newspapers: what a pity that it will soon be over with old Africa, Africa the beautiful! I encountered the clearest expression of this view on a visit to Albert Schweitzer in Lambarene. Schweitzer belongs to those who view the change in present-day Africa from a romantic standpoint. When the standpoint is challenged, it is no longer possible to see certain things clearly. In the course of our conversation Schweitzer expressed the opinion that paternalism is the only way to keep Africans happy. When they learn something new, they learn it badly. I had just come from Douala and pointed out that 100,000 Africans were living there and that they *had* to learn something if catastrophes were going to be avoided. Schweitzer's comment was: "A native who is no longer in the bush ceases to be a native." A person comes to this line of thought if, out of love for the old Africa, he closes his eyes to the fact that one of the basic features of the overall religious and intellectual picture in Africa is this process of secularization, of objectification, of dissemination of the technological frame of mind.

The Churches in Africa

The preceding sketch of the religious environment of the churches in Africa was necessary to avoid giving the impression that these churches live and work in a vacuum. Their milieu is rife with forces which are by no means only favorably disposed toward what the church would like to do and should do. Our discussion of a few of the chief problems of the African churches will be from a critical standpoint. One could, of course, describe the great variety of churches and how much they have grown in recent years. In this respect there are many things which occasion great hope and great joy. If it is fellowship with the churches of Africa which we are seeking, however, we do well to look at their peculiar problems.

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Mission to Church

In speaking about the churches in Africa the first thing to be emphasized over and over again is that we are no longer dealing only with missions but with churches as well. However familiar this fact may be, it is nevertheless frequently overlooked. The picture we have of Africa always seems to lag somewhat behind the actual facts and events. This is true also of those who take an interest in missions. We would like to discover in Africa what in Asia has been shattered by the storms of the last twelve years: the picture of the old-style missionary at his station out in the bush, going tranquilly about his sacrificial work. Things today have a different look. Work is sacrificial but no longer tranquil. It is literally sacrificial since the center of the stage is no longer occupied by the "mission" organization but by the emergence of independent churches. This phenomenon is not merely a counterpart to African nationalism; its roots lie deeper, in the nature of mission work which, as Warneck said long ago, leads "from one church to another." Here and there the present political upheavals in Africa have no doubt had a part in hastening the step from mission to church. On the whole one would have to say that this development has proceeded more organically in Africa than in Asia where in connection with the changes following the second world war the churches, especially in China and Indonesia, were affected to an unusual degree by political events.

An example of this organic development is the way in which the former missions of the Basel mission society and the Baptists, in the French Cameroun, have become fully independent churches. When the first political elections in the Cameroun were announced, some people in the churches reasoned: we have always been well ahead of what goes on in the political sphere; if a provisional form of self-government is now being introduced, we cannot be caught lagging behind. The director of the Paris mission (which had been responsible for the work of the Basel and Baptist missions since the end of the first world war) evidently took the hint, for within a few weeks (February, 1957) he had succeeded in bringing it about that the executive committee of the mission transferred all the mission property to these churches (the *Eglise Evangélique* and the *Union des Eglises Baptistes*) and the European missionaries became coworkers appointed and supervised by these churches. The organic element in this example is the rapid pace at which it all proceeded.

In those places where missionaries waited such a long time to hand over the reins to indigenous churchmen that a struggle originated (a phenomenon with its parallels in the political and economic realms), the personal relationships were complicated for decades. But where responsibility was transferred before any such contention could arise—because the indigenous church was treated as a church and not as a kindergarten—an unpretentious readiness to allow oneself to be helped developed. And it is immeasurably harder to put aside false pride and false humility and accept help than it is to offer such help.

This development in these two churches in the Cameroun (which have come closer together as a result of it, incidentally) is typical of what is going on in many places in other parts of Africa. It is often difficult, to be sure, to get people in Europe and America who all their lives have cherished a paternalistic picture of the missionary to understand and acknowledge whole-heartedly that it is not the person of the white missionary that matters—above all not today—but the response to the gospel by the people of Africa who constitute the church. What we are able to accomplish through our missionary labors—which are often conceived in terms much too exotic and heroic—is just some errand work for God as he himself evokes this response to his word.

Confinement to the Tribe ?

A problem that plays a major role in most African churches at present—although it is not clearly perceived everywhere—is one resulting from the change in the political life of African nations. Of necessity the history of these churches always began when a group of missionaries, or even only one missionary, went to a particular tribe, studied its language and translated the Bible into that language. Then, with the blessing of God, a new religious community grew up in the midst of the tribe. Often, because the old community ties held so strongly that the Christians came to be outsiders, it was necessary to guarantee them a living. This explains why Protestant missionaries experimented many years ago, in what is now Ghana, with raising cacao; the cultivation of cacao in West Africa is due to their efforts. Similarly, the cultivation of coffee on the slopes of Kilimanjaro goes back to the work of Roman Catholic missionaries. The important thing, however, is that in many cases the tide turned and the churches which had been established came to be “at home” in the tribe. Thus quite on their own the churches came to be tribal congregations, even where that did not accord with the theory of the mission concerned.

Today, however, the tribe no longer constitutes the milieu of the African. Eyes are turned on the nation. The tribe is one of those things to be discarded as one moves forward to the creation of something new. And this poses a problem for the churches. For the sake of their missionary proclamation they must identify themselves quite strongly with the tribe in which they are working. On the other hand, the tribal unit is coming to be regarded as too confined to constitute the sole milieu of an African. And the “developing nations” which are replacing the tribes are nowhere—not even in Ghana—so tangible as to offer an actual platform for the proclamation of the gospel. This places most African churches in a dilemma at present: they are really able to address men’s hearts and consciences only at the tribal level; at the same time they perceive that the tribe is no longer the decisive nor the sole milieu for the African, that it is the nation which constitutes that milieu and, in time, even larger units may develop and come to fill that role.

Theological Education

Whether it will be possible for the African churches successfully to resist being confined to a tribe or a group of tribes depends, humanly speaking, to a large extent on the future pastors of these churches. In recent years the International Missionary Council has been carrying out an extensive survey of all schools on the African continent offering theological training. The reports of the individual groups responsible for the various parts of this "Survey of the Training of the Ministry in Africa" offer a variety of material. We shall concern ourselves here with only one particularly urgent question, the educational level of the future pastor.

Future ministers have been trained, primarily, within the framework of a single program designed to prepare persons for vocations in the church. One first became a teacher, and then after one had proved himself as a teacher and, in many instances, as leader of a local congregation and preacher under the supervision of a missionary or pastor, ordination followed—often after one had been pensioned as a teacher. The older pastors one meets today—and there are very capable men in their ranks—have almost all been teachers at one time. The younger generation however—the new Africa—finds the preaching of the older generation and its conception of its task antiquated in many respects.

This is more than a difference between generations. It has to do with the educational level of the older pastors. In November, 1957, the Ghana newspaper *Daily Graphic* polled young university graduates in Accra on their attitude to the church. The reporter asked why they did not attend church, when almost all of them owed their education to mission schools or to the churches and their educational institutions. The most typical answer, summing up all the other answers to this question, was: "We are all fed up with listening to dull sermons by uneducated pastors."

A visit to the theological seminaries in Africa shows how hard they are trying to raise the educational level of the future ministry. The Bible school pattern is no longer followed. Work is carried out with a view to further study in Europe, often at London University. The goal is to acquire a diploma, a piece of paper which will certify that the pastor is a truly "educated" man. To master all the material required for a London diploma of theology, however, one must dispense with any real study. Thus it comes about that the higher the degree obtained by the student, the less he has really understood and assimilated.

A summary dismissal of this quest for a European diploma would be shortsighted, however. There is more at stake than the mere desire of the future pastor for a diploma. It is a fact that the sources of authority in present-day African society are shifting. Formerly there were two things that conferred authority: birth into a ruling family (many of the older pastors in West Africa come from a family of this kind or from priestly families) or the fact of belonging to one of the upper age brackets. Today other sources of authority have displaced

these older ones. Money is one. Much of what one sees in Africa in this respect impresses one as downright American. This is quite understandable. A society where the system of authority is breaking down looks for a criterion which can actually be counted and with which one can indicate directly one's "worth." Money is such a criterion.

Another new source of authority is political activity at the parliamentary level. The third and not least important source is a diploma from a European educational institution. For this reason the education of ministers in Africa is more than a question of how one gets people to think theologically. If they are to be effective pastors today, these future ministers must be equipped with the necessary authority. This means they must have not only certain knowledge but the social status conferred by a diploma as well. The logical conclusion is that, taking the long view, the meaningless memorizing of material not fully understood must be regarded as a transition. This is a question confronting theological education as well as other branches of education, and all that the "older" churches can do is to help shorten the period of transition by offering scholarships and making teachers available—with a view to effecting an early increase in the number of educated African theologians and pastors and improving the quality of their education. This is a point at which much can still be done, political developments in Africa permitting.

The Question of Money

If the African churches actually reach the point where they have better educated pastors, there is, to be sure, another question which will become even more urgent than it is in many churches at present. Why is it that there are not enough young men who want to enter the ministry and that often it is precisely the most gifted ones who end up in government jobs? One reason is undoubtedly that pastors are atrociously underpaid. Virtually all of them are paid considerably less than teachers, who have had much less schooling. This leads directly to the question of the financial basis of the African churches.

In most of the churches in Europe money is a question which has not been thought through as a spiritual problem. How sad it would be if this blindness to the spiritual implications of money were to be repeated in the African churches (and I am thinking here not only of those planted by European missions). In most African churches contributions are paid on an annual, per capita basis. The amount paid is fixed and does not depend on a person's income, although it usually varies depending on whether one is a man, woman or a candidate for baptism. Once the per capita contribution has been fixed, it continues without change. There *have* been changes, of course, for example in the Presbyterian Church of Ghana where, in 1922, the annual per capita contribution of male communicants was raised to one pound. Yet from 1922 to 1959 the economic situation in Ghana—the heart of cacao cultivation in Africa—has undergone

a tremendous change. But the church contribution still remains one pound. This explains why even where much money is being earned the churches are poor.

Unfortunately, apart from marriage questions, the payment of these per capita church contributions is often the only point at which church discipline still functions. The person who has not paid is excluded from the Lord's Supper. One can understand, therefore, why a pastor in the Cameroons should complain that this practice has led to the idea that one must pay for Holy Communion with his church contribution.

It is gratifying that new beginnings are being made in this matter also. For instance, in the Mandara Mountains in the northern part of the French Cameroun, where the Sudan United Mission is beginning new work, each person who joins the congregation takes it for granted that he will tithe since tithing is found in the Bible. Thus it is possible for these poverty-stricken people—about 90 so far—who live by raising millet and herding goats, to provide full support for 13 evangelists from their own ranks.

That something like this is possible elsewhere than in a new congregation is shown by the work begun over 35 years ago by the American Methodists in the Katanga region of the southeast Congo. Today there is a Methodist diocese with 14 superintendents, only 3 of whom are missionaries and the rest Africans. Most of the missionaries in the diocese serve as district secretaries, as the superintendent's right-hand men. Here the Methodists also began their work with tithing. Certainly one reason why these congregations are filled with life and missionary power is that they have been entrusted from the beginning with full responsibility for their finances.

Cooperation and Unity

We have indicated how the nation is coming to constitute the new milieu of the present-day African and how this is causing the tribe to be regarded as too confining. In the church there is also a movement leading the individual churches which have developed from the work of the missions to join forces in larger units. The Protestant missions in the various African territories have cooperated closely for a long time. The medium of cooperation has been the national Christian councils. An impressive example of cooperation is that offered by the Protestant missions in the Belgian Congo. They have pledged themselves to hold before them as the common goal of their labors a "Church of Christ in the Congo." Even now, if, let us say, one of the Baptists in the vicinity of Leopoldville moves to Elisabethville where the Methodists are working, he takes a letter of transfer along and is received into the Methodist church with the same status that he had in the Baptist church at home. In this connection we should also call particular attention to the close cooperation of the Lutheran churches in Tanganyika, which readers of this journal are undoubtedly acquainted with.

One distressing note in this matter of cooperation among missions is that, all over Africa, cooperation with the church of Rome is lacking. Many painful examples could be cited. One must be quite clear on one point, however, namely that the situation in which, let us say, we in Germany confront the Roman Catholic Church—in pleasant conversations with honest intentions—is by no means typical of the way this church really looks upon itself and, in a place like Africa, puts that conception into practice. This can be stated without bitterness, for anyone who has ever attempted to understand a Roman Catholic knows that when the person no longer assumes (as is necessary in the Roman church) that all the other churches are not really churches, that person is no longer a *Roman* Catholic. Consequently there is no use taking it amiss if in connection with Roman Catholic missions we encounter ugly instances of competition. We can and must deplore it, but we must also bear with it in the hope that things will not always be like this. There are signs in Africa, too, that despite all the differences at least the mode of Roman Catholic-Protestant relations is changing somewhat.

On the matter of church unity there is as yet not much to report from Africa. So far there are hardly any churches engaged in merger negotiations. Part of the reason lies in the ties binding the churches so closely to the tribes. Whenever the confining limits of the tribal church are overcome, the plans for genuine church unity and church merger, which are now being slowly drawn up, will achieve their purpose more quickly. The one project with some prospects of success at present is in the Eastern region of Nigeria.

The question of whether churches should merge or not depends on more than just good will, however. People must be aware of the purposes of merger. Unity in the church is never an end in itself. It has purpose only when it authenticates the church's witness to the world and does away with the scandal of division which makes that witness no longer credible. It is perhaps at this point that the African churches' past impedes them the most. Of necessity and for good reasons their history began in the tribe; now they are at the point of moving out beyond the tribe to become churches in the nation and for the nation. The missionary impulse of the African church is therefore intimately related to the question of unity.

An Old Imperative

These are some of the questions which are important for the churches in Africa at present. And what of our mission? Everything that has been said so far indicates that the forms in which the Western churches must seek to fulfill their task in Africa have changed but that the commission itself has not. The charge to preach the gospel of the kingdom of God and to lead men back to the Father's house is both old and new. We have always had the commission but the situation in which it is entrusted to us is now different.

The Heavy Burden

Taken as a whole, the change in the political situation in Africa is something missions can look upon only with favor. Sometimes after a whole night spent in exhausting conversation with missionaries out on the African steppes or deep in the jungle, one almost feels inclined to reproach Him who guides the destiny of mankind and the church for so ordaining things that in one respect the Protestant mission movement in modern times has had a much heavier burden to bear than the Apostle Paul and all his disciples ever had. I am thinking of the difficulty caused by the fact that the Protestant mission expansion into all the world coincided with the political, economic and cultural expansion of the West. There is much guilt involved here. But even more tragic than the guilt and going much deeper is this fact of coincidence. Because the messenger of the gospel was also the representative of what was thought to be a superior culture, he found it many times more difficult than the bearers of the gospel in New Testament times to exhibit the humility and the openness which are necessary if one is really to give heed to the response of his hearers to his message. For this reason we who engage in reflection about missions and give them our support can be deeply thankful to God that European rule of these "non-Christian" areas is coming to an end. Perhaps then it will be easier for the real concern of missions—now purified—to again come to the fore.

Towards Indigenous Response

A second cause for rejoicing is that the decisive role in the propagation of the gospel in Africa no longer falls to the "mission" organizations but to the African churches themselves. But what is "mission"—not the organization, now, but the permanent task of the church, including the churches in Africa as they discharge it vicariously there for all of Christendom and are supported in it by the rest of Christendom? The task has remained unchanged, and can perhaps best be stated in the words of a definition Martin Kähler once gave.

Kähler was one of the few theological professors before the first world war to examine the theological side of mission. In an essay on mission published in 1908 in *Dogmatische Zeitfragen* he begins by saying that mission must be defined by contrasting it with its opposite. His argument runs something like this. Mission is not propaganda. The essence of propaganda is that I make the other person what I myself am or should like to be. Mission is when I help the other person to give his own distinctive response and his own distinctive form of obedience to God's word. It is this indigenous form of obedience and response which is at issue today in what the churches and missions in Africa are able to do. Wherever this "indigenous" function of mission occupies the foreground, the caricature of mission vanishes: that reproduction of what we are ourselves or, what is much worse, what we should like to be and do not quite attain.

It is from this vantage point—the indigenous character of a people's response to the gospel—that one must regard the difficult theological question inhering in the call for an "African theology" or a "Confessio Africana." Such a theology must be "African"—otherwise the "indigenous" response is lacking. But it must also be closely examined whether and to what extent it is truly a response to the gospel and to what the hearts of people in Africa are longing for.

Partnership

The age of colonialism is on its way out. But the dissemination of Western knowledge, experience and potential is on the increase. If the dissemination is done properly, we shall be true partners in the process. I received my most vivid personal impression of Africa last spring when I discovered that out of the midst of the spiritual and intellectual impulses that lead to political nationalism one hears repeatedly the simple, unassuming question: Why don't you want us as brothers? The curtain has not yet fallen for the last time (as it has in many regions of Asia) upon the disappointment aroused by our false and inhuman answer to this question. In Africa the question is still being asked. What could be better than that—here and now, before it is too late—we say with our whole hearts and then act accordingly: "We do want to be brothers."

In the Western *churches* at least this spark should catch fire, for the brotherhood based on the gospel is much stronger than something the statesmen could contrive. The task of realizing this brotherhood falls not only to the missions in Africa. (At many points—e.g., in their new conception of the functions of European personnel—they have long since drawn the necessary consequences of partnership in the gospel.) The task falls also to the lay people in our churches, many of whom are going to Africa today as businessmen or technicians. They are not called to go as bearers of benefits but simply as fellow humans who bring primarily their own persons and thereby perhaps incite African Christians to give their own distinctive response to the gospel. The integral picture of the "Christian" West which is part of the old pattern of life in Africa is still influential there today. The person who goes to Africa, therefore, whether for business, scientific or humanitarian reasons, goes as a representative of Christendom. What are the churches in Europe and America doing to prepare their members for this fact?

In the present situation in Africa where the question of brotherhood is a burning one, all who support missions, and all others in our church as well, must take Walter Freytag's dictum quite literally: We are all witnesses for Christ, if not for him then against him.

Confessions and Churches — an Afro-Asian Symposium

Edited by Arne Sovik

One is faced with two alternatives in presenting in readable form the results of a questionnaire. It is possible simply to set forth the questions and answers in organized form without comment, letting them speak for themselves and allowing the readers to draw whatever conclusions seem warranted. Or an editor can select from the materials received whatever seems to be significant and present to the reader a predigested analysis of the results. Whatever may be the advantages of the former approach, limitations of space make it necessary in this case to adopt the second procedure, without, however, wholly abandoning the first: we have let the writers speak for themselves as much as possible.

Our questions are not statistical; they are concerned with opinion and they have drawn answers of some length and varying value. Nor was the sampling scientific; another sampling would no doubt have drawn different answers. The aim was to elicit from a group of men, most of them pastors in positions of responsibility in Lutheran churches of Asia and Africa, their personal comments on a number of questions relating to the place of the Lutheran confessions in Asian and African churches and the relations of these churches with other churches in their area. Behind the questionnaire was the editor's desire to see this journal live up to its name more fully: *Lutheran WORLD*. One small but potentially significant way in which some of the thinking of younger church leaders could be brought before the readers of *Lutheran World* would be to have them state their opinions on a number of questions of current interest in Lutheranism and the missionary movement.

Fifteen men from fourteen churches in ten countries responded. Twelve of them have traveled or studied abroad. There is no certainty that the views of these men reflect those of their churches; but there is little doubt that they are, or will be, of considerable influence in their churches.¹

Many of the responses bear the marks of hurried work. Some indicate a lack of background in the specific discussions which caused the editor of *Lutheran World* to ask the questions he did. They are nevertheless of interest, not least because they seem to be perfectly frank expressions of personal conviction.

The first three questions came out of the debate on the relation between culture and confession. The debate itself, as a matter of fact, goes considerably beyond the relation between specific Christian confessions and their cultural

¹ Their names are kept anonymous for two reasons. These are (in the words of the letter sent out to the prospective contributors): "(1) so that if someone feels he has been quoted out of context or his thought has been misrepresented in the symposium, it will still not reflect upon him publicly in any way... (2) so that the writers of the replies will feel free to express themselves on the questions," to which the editor appends, "from you... we would ask that all statements be responsible and defensible but that they nevertheless be entirely frank."

background and universal applicability. The missionary movement recognizes that a church, if it is to live and grow, must shed its "foreign-ness" and become "indigenous." This implies not only that it be led by nationals rather than foreigners, but that it accept and encourage the use of local forms in its worship, its art and symbolism, and that it adapt itself sociologically to the traditions of the people (as, for example, the various national traditions of Europe have produced considerable variations among churches even of the same confession). It implies also that in its theological expression the church speak the language of the particular culture. If there is in every people a *preparatio evangelii*, the fulfillment in the gospel must come in terms of the *preparatio*, for otherwise it will not be understood.

Now to the questions themselves.

I

Each people has its own way of life and thinking, its own culture. Yet man is basically the same around the world. Some say that the theology of Luther and of the Lutheran confessions is specifically a product of Germanic, or, at best, Western culture; others that this theology has been true to Scripture and is therefore universal. In your opinion, is the development of a Lutheran theology indigenous to your culture possible? If so, what relation would such a theology bear to occidental Lutheran theology? Or are Lutherans in your country faced with a dilemma: to be true to Luther and Lutheran theology at the expense of their national traditions and their own cultural expression of the Christian message; or to be true to their own traditions at the expense of Lutheran theology?

The answer to these questions were, most of them, rather guarded. But not all. An African denies emphatically that "the theology of Luther and the Lutheran confessions are a product of Western culture." The Lutheran confessions, he continues, are true to the Scriptures and are therefore universal. "They were not made to defend the true way of salvation as far as Westerners *only* are concerned, but... the whole world. We confess that the church is the communion of saints all over the world, regardless of color and tongue. If so, that Christian faith which was defended in Germany by means of these confessions is the faith of saints the world over."²

The writer goes on to question the idea of a "Confessio Africana," which he seems to consider a substitute for the older confessions: "It would be a sad fact if some of us would dare say that we Africans must have or make a 'Confessio Africana' which would show the faith of Africans because the existing confessions

² One can agree to this proposition without agreeing that the Lutheran confessions themselves must be a universal heritage, which is quite another thing.

are a product of what happened in Europe, which does not concern us. Those heresies against which these confessions were made... have come to Africa alive, and they are still alive today."

A compatriot of this writer is personally satisfied that Lutheran theology is "based on the Word of God." He suggests, however, that there is something lacking in the typical Lutheran statement of the Christian faith as preached to Africans: "It is difficult to say that it is indigenous to our culture because my people have accepted it as it is and they do not very much show the fruits of the teaching in their lives. This has shown itself when the sectarians came with their wrong teachings. Some of our Christians have easily left their Lutheran teachings as if they had been looking for something that would satisfy them. Some... have tried to mix Christianity with native traditions, as if to say this is a white man's religion."

A pastor from Southwest Africa recognizes the Germanic origin of Lutheran theology, but is not frightened by this fact into denying its universality. He accepts calmly the prospect of the loss of ancient traditions, and regards the acceptance of the Christian faith as leading inevitably to that result. The old culture is pagan, it must yield to Christ:

Some Africans have thought: "Is it not good to have our traditions?" Some have said: "This religion is for Europeans. It does not fit the African because it changes our traditions and culture." Yet all national traditions change in the course of time, but God does not change. He remains as he is (Heb. 13:8)....

The development of Lutheran theology is foreign inasmuch as it changes our culture and traditions, and yet we expected that it would be so. It is not indigenous to our culture, because surely we must change our culture and traditions and follow the Christian way.

For Lutherans in his country, he says, Lutheranism versus traditional culture does not pose a problem, the choice has already been made. "It is not easy to win people in my country to leave their old culture and traditions; but once they experience Christianity and its teachings, they surrender their old culture and traditions and live in peace and harmony with God."

In another African country, the people have *not* "surrendered their old culture and traditions." A pastor who ministers to the colored, or racially mixed community speaks of the tendency of his people, who are culturally closely related to the white community, to maintain faith in the witchdoctor, and to regard baptism "not so much as a spiritual act but... a bodily blessing" which may cure an ailing child.

A problem that underlies many of the answers to this question is that of definition. What is a "culture"? What in the traditional confessions is essential to the nature of Lutheranism? The very terms themselves, or only the basic point of view? A Chinese writer believes that the theology of Luther and the confessions are true to Scripture and therefore universal. He believes it possible to indigenize this theology, but warns against the use of "the old terms of other religions to express the Christian truth," fearing evidently the perversion of Christian

theology through attempting to adjust it to concepts already in the indigenous mind. An Indian takes the opposite position: "There cannot be any distinction between so-called Western theology and Eastern theology. . . . However, in its expression it needs to be different from that of other countries, for Indian traditions and particularly Indian religious thoughts differ from those of other countries."

Another Indian writes: "I do not feel that a proper understanding and a proper presentation of the gospel as expounded by Luther should in any way contradict our national traditions and their cultural expression; but on the contrary I wonder whether it may not serve to provide a valuable criterion for rightly evaluating and effectively transforming these and higher and nobler forms of any life and action."

A pastor in the Near East does not see any problem: "Theological concepts are universal truths. . . . Making a point of Lutheran theology being occidental would be exactly like viewing Christianity as oriental." On the other hand he feels that if the problem is ever posed in the Near East, it will very likely face not only Lutherans but "Christians as whole on a higher and more critical level than the denominational."

A Malagasy theologian answers the question by defining Lutheran theology in very personal terms: "Lutheranism is essentially the truth of the gospel lived. Luther was not a philosopher hero. . . . Our reformer did not endow the church with an elaborate doctrinal system, but with a witness, a message. And this message was the gospel in the fullness of its comforting and renewing power. . . . Lutheran doctrine brings out in an unparalleled manner the true spirit of the New Covenant." In this sense it is universal. In that there is some "awkwardness of expression" in Luther and the confessions, and in that the reformers spoke to specific historical and sociological situations, it is not universal. Thus understood "Lutheran doctrine does not by any means dictate the arbitrary transformation of a culture." But the gospel of which the confessions are a handmaid "does find fault with a pagan or secular culture."

A Tanganyikan pastor defines Lutheran theology as a "Bible-based, Christ-centered theology" holding to "the three great Reformation principles": "(a) the Holy Scriptures as the sole norm and authority for faith and life; (b) justification by faith alone without any merits of good works; and (c) the priesthood of all believers." So defined Lutheran theology is universal in validity and is shared by other Protestant denominations.

But "we should not hinder the Holy Spirit from revealing the written word in various ways and in the understanding of people according to their culture and environment." "It is wrong to compel anyone to accept other peoples' outward forms of Christianity." "One cannot," the statement concludes, "divorce Lutheran theology from its environment. Lutheran theology in Africa needs to get its cue for its application from the African environment and not necessarily from the West."

Two other voices from Africa deal with local practices. A Nigerian sees in Lutheran theology a fulfillment of some of his people's religious ideas; here is evidence of its universality and adaptability to all people. "While we do not intend to make a broad generalization about culture, we consider that a people's culture is to a considerable extent determined by its religious belief. It can therefore be said that our culture developed out of the heathen background under which our forefathers had lived. Our heathen society, however, had certain beliefs which made Christian theology seem familiar. The most important of these is the belief in 'Homon Pwa,' one divine being whose power is supreme. . . . Consequently, we consider that Christian theology is indigenous to our own culture." However, he goes on to say, "as a result of what can be called over-adaptation of Lutheran theology, conflict with local culture does occur. This is particularly noticeable in the case of traditional dances and other festivals which have been prohibited by the church, although they are not necessarily connected with heathen worship. In this respect, then, we are of the opinion that Lutherans here are certainly confronted with the problem of clinging to their own culture at the expense of Lutheran theology or vice versa." (A Batak also called attention to ways in which Lutheran theology fulfills indigenous religious ideas. His comments are given under II.)

An Ethiopian points out that church, state and culture are so identified in his country that non-conformity to the rules and rites governing fasting, saints' days, etc., "is counted as disloyalty to the church and country. Most of these practices are not unchristian as such, but the purposes and motives associated with them do not agree with the gospel. We believe... that these practices could be kept and the gospel message could be introduced (in spite of them) into them."

A Chinese from Taiwan states "that it is too early to say that there would be no conflict between Christian theology, specifically Lutheran theology, and the Chinese way of thinking" since "Christian theology, including Lutheran theology, is still under construction in our country and to some extent it has not yet met the very center of Chinese thought." "But on the other hand I believe that the uniqueness of Christian theology... will not compete with traditional thought on the same level but should rather make it its instrument and servant that the gospel might be preached among our people."

An Indian believes, on the other hand, that one must not underestimate in his land the danger to the gospel of attempts in these nationalistic days to conform to environment. "In the name of ancient Indian culture much which is really Hindu—religious—is being revived," and there is "real danger for Christians in trying to conform to these cultural patterns."

II

Question II was phrased as follows:

The Scriptures as read in different times and places have spoken in different ways to the human heart and mind. Historically different Christian traditions have developed, each with its own emphases. What in Scripture and in the Lutheran Church (teaching and practice) speaks most clearly and directly to your people?

The answers to this question deal almost exclusively with matters of conservative Christian rather than uniquely Lutheran faith and practice.

Predictably an Indian notes that John's Gospel is the most appealing to Indians for to them both the idea of the incarnation and the emphasis on mystery in God's dealing with man are familiar and congenial. Another notes the appeal of a message of man's complete helplessness and of God's all-powerful grace. The Lutheran emphasis on the sacraments is also mentioned.

Two Chinese answer that the doctrine of salvation by grace, not works, is especially pertinent, and one adds that it is "very clear to our people."

To Ethiopian Lutherans it is the teaching of justification by faith alone, the crucial point at issue between the Orthodox and the Evangelicals, which is treasured. Not less important is the freedom from the bondage to rites and duties associated with legalistic religion.

On the other hand, it is sometimes precisely the ceremonial that appeals. To the South African colored people three especially valued customs of the Lutheran church are said to be the kneeling at the altar for communion, the use of a common chalice, and the churching of the mother after a child's baptism.

A South African pastor notes that the doctrine of the atonement is readily understood. "The African people as a whole believe in the power of blood. They used to sacrifice animals to appease the ancestors. Their sacrifice was more or less like that of the Jews before Christ. Therefore the portions they like most are those about atonement."

An East African believes that the traditional clan-family, with its extensive system of mutual responsibility, obligation and affection, is the background which made more easily acceptable the wonder of the Father's giving of his Son for his other children. The warrior tradition helped the African appreciate "this Galilean Hero" who had miraculous powers.

A West African says that it is the passages about God's love to man which appeal to his people: "In the pagan religion much emphasis is placed on the gods' 'might' and 'justice.' The God of love as revealed by the Scriptures is something new. . . ." Another thing he mentions is the practice of infant baptism: "It seems to us that in no other way could the need of salvation for both old and young be better shown than the admission of all age groups into the church."

A Batak pastor, in explaining the remarkable degree to which the Bataks have appropriated the theology of the Reformation, attributes it to two major facts. First, Luther's theology is simple in its fidelity to Scripture and can be grasped even by the beginner in Christianity. Second, it found extensive parallels in Batak tradition and fulfilled especially four inadequacies of their pagan faith.³

Two parallels are mentioned. The first was the "peacemaking feast."

All conflicts, wars between the clans, murders and whatever crimes there are, are settled and reconciled through the peacemaking feast. In that ceremonial act one or several pigs are slain and the people eat together. . . and after this no crimes or sins should be remembered. The ideas are these: (a) the pig has been slain instead of the guilty one and it bears his iniquity; (b) the slaying of the pig and the eating of it together are a covenant that binds the two parties to have peace and harmony thereafter.

The second was in worship. The pagan Bataks had their priests, who offered both meat and burnt offerings at the altar.

This should be done in a solemn way; both men and women must dress properly, so that the god may receive their offerings. Nobody should laugh or talk loudly, except the priest while chanting or praying. The Batak Christians feel at home while they sit on the pew and follow our Christian liturgy. They have the feeling of worship as it is inherited from our forefathers. Only that worship has been Christianized. . . . The place has been changed from under the shadow of a big tree into the church building; the object of worship is changed from many uncertain angry gods to the one true loving God.

There are many other small parallels, which help us feel that Lutheran theology is indigenous to us; it has not destroyed our good traditions but rather made them more fruitful under the Christian light.

In four ways especially the gospel spoke to the needs of the Bataks, writes our correspondent. First, by presenting a new concept of God. The pagans knew a supreme deity and a host of minor gods, all of whom they worshiped, not because they loved them but to appease them (for they were angry gods) and to cajole and bribe them into yielding temporal blessings. The gospel brought news of "one true and loving God through Christ the Savior, through whom we who used to be sons of the devil are sons of God."

Second, they have the sure word of God. In pagan times the people "learned the voice of the gods through natural signs such as the halo around the sun or moon, the crowing of a rooster, the falling of rain. They confusedly followed these natural signs, which were supposed to be the words of the gods. Now the Batak Christians find peace and certainty because they have the inspired word of God."

Third, the teaching of justification by faith. Pagan Bataks had strict codes of ethical and religious conduct. But such conduct was not motivated by gratitude; rather a man "did good works to charm or bribe the gods, that he might be safe from harm."

³ These statements are given really in response to question I, as evidence that "Lutheran theology is indigenous to our church and culture."

"The Batak Christians enjoy the gospel, for it makes salvation clearcut. Now we know our ever loving Savior, who offers us our full salvation... just because he loves us. We are saved just by his grace. And indeed the good works will follow after the works of the Holy Spirit who repairs our hearts and minds."

Fourth, a promise of heaven and eternal life.

The pagan Batak understood that the soul of a dead person lived as a wandering spirit for several generations. He lived mostly at the graveyard and practiced the customs of mankind: marrying, eating, drinking, etc. But when the time came the soul died again and his soul departed from him. This ghost wandered to the jungle, found a place at a solemn high tree or near a well or a river, and he was worshiped with other gods....

But though the spirit was understood as immortal there was no certain place nor a state of bliss for him; he wandered about forever, practicing human customs.

The Bible teaches us that there will be a great resurrection, the reunion of soul and body. There is heaven for the sons of God, who trust in Christ Jesus. This hope is a great comfort for those who face death, and for those who endure suffering; it makes the sorrowing spirit sing.

It need only be noted that none of these doctrines is unique to Lutheranism.

III

Question III is related specifically to a study now being made by the LWF's Department of Theology. The answers are not as full as might be desired, nor as specific. The question reads as follows:

The Christian confessions—from the Apostles' Creed to the Heidelberg Catechism and the Augsburg Confession—were written in particular historical situations, to deal with specific doctrinal problems. In your opinion, are the present Lutheran confessions adequate for your church? If so, how can they be brought to bear upon the life and theology of your church? What status do they have in your church, officially and in actual fact? Is Luther's Small Catechism a satisfactory teaching aid in your country?

The churches represented by the men answering this questionnaire all accept as a minimum the three ecumenical creeds and Luther's Small Catechism. Some include in their constitutions the whole Book of Concord. One African questions the value of such books as the Apology, the Smalcald Articles and the Formula of Concord—even the leaders of the church have no acquaintance with them, he says. A Chinese declines to comment on the adequacy of the Lutheran confessions because they have not yet been studied adequately in his church. A South African believes that the historic confessions are adequate to deal with any doctrinal problems today or tomorrow, as they have been in the past.

The place official confessions do or should occupy in the life and theology of a church was variously interpreted. An Indian states: "The present Lutheran confessions do provide an adequate basis for the preservation of the Christian

faith... but this is not to say that every word and every formulation should be mechanically adhered to at the cost of the need to interpret the meaning and spirit of the confessions in the language and thought forms of our country. This would, however, become the growing need of every living and active church." Another Indian confesses that while his church accepts the whole Book of Concord, in actual fact perhaps most pastors are not acquainted with any of the confessions beyond the Small Catechism.

It is in this series of answers that the question of new confessional statements is discussed most thoroughly. The Batak writer points to the Batak confession. Although the Batak church is in full agreement with the Augsburg Confession, still "since the church throughout the ages must face the devil in many different 'masks'... the Batak church was obliged to make its confession to show the teaching of the church and her attitude toward those modern unchristian streams which penetrate our society." In her confession "the Batak church positively rejects communism and syncretism, which the church at the Reformation period did not yet face."

The Indian churches have special problems to face these days, both in defining their position against the Hindu environment and in carrying on negotiations regarding union with other churches. It is not surprising that three Indians state the need for a redefinition, or reinterpretation, in new terms of their Lutheran faith. One points out that the doctrinal statement drawn up by the Federation of Evangelical Lutheran Churches in India in 1948 is such a document (but a very brief one). None mentions the confessional value of the statements drawn up by the joint Lutheran commission that has for several years been carrying on conversations with the Church of South India.

African writers are not of one mind. One calls for "new confessions relevant to our time and place." Another points out that although there is a Lutheran church in America there is no such thing as a "Confessio Americana" and that the only kind of Confessio Africana called for would be one "showing that we do accept the Lutheran confessions." Still another (from Ethiopia) would like elaborations of the Lutheran positions on baptism, the new life and faith and works, presumably in light of the need for special clarity on these matters in an Eastern Orthodox country. Some are satisfied. One warns against rashness. "It is to the advantage in the development of a young church," writes a Malagasy theologian, "that it should not rush into the assumption that it can produce a new and so-called original confession. But the church's duty to express itself when anti-Christian currents threaten, this is a different matter again." "Believers," he adds, "should know their confessions almost as well as their Bible, especially responsible laymen and clergy."

As to the usefulness of the Small Catechism, all correspondents are agreed, more or less enthusiastically. One finds that in his Near Eastern parish it must be supplemented with other materials especially in the field of ecclesiology. Others feel that new and more appropriate explanatory material is necessary.

Others say that constant efforts are being made to present the catechism in more attractive and understandable forms. One laments the fact that "instead of an aid it often becomes the end of all Christian teaching in Lutheran churches."

IV

Question IV looks at local ecumenical relations:

How do you look upon the churches in your area? Summarize the relations with them. Are there good reasons for keeping separate from them? Is the tendency at present to draw closer to these churches or farther apart? What do you admire in these churches? What do you regard as especially to be treasured in the Lutheran church?

Those churches which are in closest contact with other denominations, it seems, are the most interested in closer relations. Which is the cause and which the effect? It is difficult to say, but the fact of the relationship is clear. An African from a church of confessionally purist traditions believes that "there are good reasons for keeping away from" other churches and does not think that there will ever be a "drawing together." Another African, whose church is a member of an inter-Protestant federation of neighboring churches (most of which cooperate in a joint theological seminary), writes approvingly of growing unity. A South Indian expresses the "fervent hope" that his and other Lutheran churches will soon merge with the Church of South India. The vast majority of answers speak of cordial and cooperative inter-church relations (although not with the "sects" or with Roman Catholics) and look forward to greater unity in the future. Not all by any means seem to think in terms of ultimate Protestant union. "We will keep our differences," writes one, "but we hope nothing will hinder us from cooperating in spirit and love with those who preach the pure evangelical message."

In the non-Lutheran churches such things as good stewardship and responsible church membership, a zeal for witnessing and a concern for practical expression of Christian faith and love are admired. What are the treasures of Lutheranism? Objectivity: "There are not many emotional persons in our church. Perhaps this is the treasure God has entrusted to us to profit others." A clear presentation of God's grace in Christ: "The fact that Luther gives no credit or power to man and his teaching, and that the Lord does all things for us from start to finish." A sound and stable confession: "Some churches have no systematized teachings." In at least one area some non-Lutherans do not object to making use of Luther's catechism. A world-wide fellowship. The form of worship: "There are other churches where the whole atmosphere is dominated by a colorful ceremony of priests. On the other hand, there are churches where everything is so very much simplified that the service has hardly any form at all... the Lutheran form of service has bridged the gap."

V

Question V is very simply put:

How can the "younger churches" and the occidental churches best work together?

The answers are not quite so simple.

On the one hand the continued need of traditional missionary services is mentioned, but there is a stress on technical ministries. "We can run everything in the church," writes an African, "but we cannot establish schools and hospitals." Financial help is also needed in Africa and Asia, but, says one Asian, it should be so given as to create a church with greater giving potential, to provide the church with income-producing "auxiliaries."

A South African believes missionaries should continue in training positions but that more responsibility should be given to the churches. An Asian pastor stresses the need for representatives of the older churches who are qualified by their training, character and attitude. "For they actually and solely represent to us, and embody the feeling, sympathy, encouragement, brotherliness and cooperation of the mother church; or they may reflect and show the lack of such qualities."

The need of the younger churches for more literature, and for all kinds of educational assistance, is mentioned frequently. An African writes that his people are more inclined to listen to indigenous leaders than to foreigners, but that in training these leaders the help of the Western churches is sorely needed. Furthermore, "with their huge potentialities... (the Western churches) should kindly give their assistance to accelerate Christian work... through printed or written material."

He goes on to suggest that the Western churches may also have something "to learn from their students, the younger churches, even as a prudent and wise instructor learns from his students... We beg if our boldness is offensive that we should be forgiven, but we feel that the occidental churches should emphasize prayer and meditation and not only business meetings... conventions and conferences, and emphasize Luther's evangelical spirit and not only theology. Cooperation with other Christians... is an example that the West could probably observe and possibly profit by in the younger churches."

From the Batak church comes a request for help from the LWF for youth work around the world.

Several mention the value of international scholarships and exchange and of other efforts to extend the churches' knowledge of each other. "The participation of Asians (writes an Indian) in ecumenical conferences and committee meetings is greatly handicapped by the lack of finances. For some time to come if Asians' participation is really valued by the whole ecumenical setup, one cannot but stress the realistic needs whereby such provisions should be made...."

The older churches are reminded that they must continue "to take a keen brotherly interest in the younger churches." It is to be noted that the word is *brotherly*, not *motherly*.

This gentle hint is expressed more sharply by another writer. "A thorough change in attitude is the need of the hour," he writes in capital letters. The old distinctions between "young" and "old," "occidental" and "oriental," "mother" and "daughter" churches should be forgotten entirely. And we should remember that "we are all engaged in the common task of evangelizing the world." "We are all called *together* to go, preach, baptize and teach wherever there is need, in East or West, among *all* nations."

Another says that what is needed is: "Shed the patronizing attitude on the one side and the begging attitude on the other side. Each should recognize its own strengths and weaknesses and by sharing common gifts of money and talents should work together toward the common goal, the proclamation of the gospel."

Still another points out that the day is past when the Western churches were "parents and guardians" to Asia and Africa. "We should seek together more effective ways for the evangelism of the masses throughout all continents." The world is the field and the church is one in its task. Let it, say these men, act that way. Easier said than done? Perhaps. But thank God that it is said.

FROM THE WORK OF THE LUTHERAN WORLD FEDERATION AND THE ECUMENICAL WORLD

GENEVA DIARY

In these few lines I want to give a brief account of the meeting of the LWF Executive Committee in Strasbourg, France, in late October. These meetings have become occasions when participants on this committee can also meet with representatives of neighboring churches and the local church in which the meeting is held. This was the first intimate contact by leaders of the federation as a group with the Lutheran church in France, particularly the church in Alsace-Lorraine. It will be recalled that there has not been a session of this kind in France since the last meeting of the Lutheran World Convention in 1935 in Paris. Much has changed, both in the federation and in that church, since that time. Many of the members of the Executive Committee preached in congregations in and around Strasbourg on October 26 which in Alsace is observed as Reformation Sunday. They also had the opportunity to visit Liebfrauenberg, which has become a special lay institute serving the church in France, and the deaconess home at Ingwiller in the Lower Rhine province, the historic inner mission institute there. Also in attendance at the meeting were representatives from the Lutheran churches in Italy, Württemberg, Bavaria and, of course, the other member church in France.

This was the first meeting of the Executive Committee since the time of the assembly and it had before it a vast number of reports on the various branches of the work. The member churches will have received by now a copy of a special pamphlet, printed in German and English, summarizing these reports and the decisions of the Executive Committee. President Fry in his opening message referred to the main discussion in the church world today, namely, the place of the confessional movement within the ecumenical world. He referred to two main ideas that sometimes clash if one is emphasized at the expense of the other: truth and unity.

It can be said that the meeting was characterized by active and fruitful participation by all members. When the meeting convened there was some uncertainty whether all the new members, eleven altogether, would be able to enter into the discussion on the sometimes complicated and confusing issues that would come before us. It can be said without reservation that the new members were quite at home with the other members and that they entered completely into the many issues before us. Naturally we were disappointed by the absence of three members. Bishop Lajos Ordass, our first vice-president, was sorely missed; Bishop Rajah

Manikam of India, our third vice-president, was prevented from coming through lack of finances and Dr. Oscar Benson of the United States because of the illness of his wife. Special greetings were addressed to these absentees.

The two most venturesome decisions were the establishment of a radio station in Africa to proclaim the gospel in many languages to Africans and also to Asians, and, second, the move forward in the establishment of a confessional research foundation. In the case of the radio station, plans for this item had been carefully laid and discussed by members of the Commission on World Mission on the initiative of the then director of its department, Dr. Fridtjov Birkeli. After this large commission had enthusiastically and unanimously approved the station at its meeting in Sigtuna, Sweden, last summer, the Executive Committee unanimously accepted the recommendation with instructions to appeal to the churches now for \$400,000 as the initial capital investment plus \$70,000 annually as operating cost. It further authorized the commission to establish a special board for the project and to select a staff to operate the station. This action is the first attempt of the Lutheran World Federation to establish an institution or operation of this kind. There are many questions still unsolved, but the Executive Committee seemed convinced that now is the time to take action on this particular project.

The churches of the Lutheran World Federation will recall that at Minneapolis there was a proposal from the German National Committee to establish a confessional research institute primarily to enter into discussions and study of modern Roman Catholic theology. The proposal was discussed in the Executive Committee, both before and after the assembly, and a small committee was established to study the proposal further. This committee, consisting of Bishop Dietzfelbinger, Professor Skydsgaard and Professor Brunner, met several times during the year and conducted a conference of representative theologians, and was prepared to recommend to the Executive Committee that such an institute be established now. Various sources urged that this institute should concern itself also with other confessions, such as Eastern Orthodoxy, Anglicanism and others. The Executive Committee had also requested the executive secretary to poll the member churches on the basic idea of a confessional research institute and the basic plan for one. On the basis of the response from the churches and the recommendation of the three-man committee the Executive Committee now voted to move ahead with plans for the establishment of such an institute, or foundation, as it is now called. The committee was enlarged somewhat and is now authorized to present final plans and details to the next meeting of the Executive Committee. Here again a special board will be necessary and careful attention will have to be given to the selection of staff for the first phase of the project. There are also many open questions that remain which will need careful discussion and attention before the foundation actually begins its work.

Another item that came before the Executive Committee was the usual one of finances, and here it can be said that our treasurer, Dr. Rudolf Weeber, was able to report even better financial response from the member churches than before,

so that the budget was balanced. The study commissions which held meetings in the past year also reported to the Executive Committee on their work and activities. The chairmen of these commissions in most cases were present in person to report on the plans and functions of these commissions. It was agreed that the study commissions should proceed along the general lines they proposed and that they would be able to meet twice in the period between assemblies.

Through the able chairmanship of Dr. Fry the many reports and items that came before the Executive Committee were handled with dispatch and the meeting adjourned having given attention to all these items. The next meeting of this Executive Committee will be held in Porto Alegre, Brazil, March 20-25, 1960.

CARL E. LUND-QUIST

Lutheran Foreign Missions Conference

From 1919 to 1959

The National Lutheran Council was hardly a year old when it initiated the action that brought a new inter-Lutheran organization into being in the United States: the Lutheran Foreign Missions Conference of America. The NLC's Executive Committee at its meeting in New York on April 24, 1919, requested that "the various bodies represented in the National Lutheran Council appoint one man each to meet and study the Lutheran world mission situation, to see what emergency work has been done by the various bodies, what remains to be done, how much can be taken up by individual agencies, and also make recommendation as to any relief work that the council may possibly do...."

Nine men, representing various American Lutheran foreign mission boards, met in Chicago on July 1, 1919. Although their primary purpose was to advise the NLC concerning emergency relief work necessary in order to preserve the work of the foreign missions of European, and especially German, societies which had suffered as a result of World War I, these representatives felt that a permanent organization was desirable and necessary and so elected a committee to prepare plans for such. The result was the Lutheran Foreign Missions Conference of America.

From 1919 to 1930, a total of over \$700,000 was contributed through the National Lutheran Council by American Lutheran churches for "the support of Lutheran foreign missions which otherwise might have been lost entirely to the Lutheran church." During these years the Lutheran Foreign Missions Conference served an important role in advising the National Lutheran Council regarding this program of emergency assistance. The conference also served as a means whereby various mission boards were apprised of critical needs. In some cases, American boards offered to take over the work of some "orphaned" areas as their special responsibility, as was true in the case of the Augustana Synod which began work in Tanganyika at the invitation of the Leipzig Mission Society.

Although the primary interest of the conference, that of caring for "orphaned" missions, receded into the background, the need for having the conference continued to be felt. In view of the changing times, it was found helpful to gather for free discussion of missionary policies and problems. Annual meetings were therefore held for this purpose. At times the meetings were fairly elaborate, with public sessions and the reports and papers printed, but in more recent years it has been considered sufficient to have a one and one-half day meeting of a few selected representatives from each board.*

The fortieth annual meeting of the conference was held in Pittsburgh, December 10-11, 1958. Present were forty-one delegates, including board secretaries, missionaries on furlough, members of boards of foreign missions, and some representatives from churches in Asia and Africa.

Giving the keynote presentation on the general theme "The Younger Churches and Mission Policy" was Dr. Earl S. Erb, Executive Secretary of the Board of Foreign Missions of the United Lutheran Church in America. He used as the basis for his presentation the "Policy Statement" of his board, a document that "enunciates principles which serve as the basis for the Board's decisions." It is the result of careful study and consultation by the staff of the ULCA Board of Foreign Missions for the past year or more.

The statement is a fairly comprehensive outline of the relation of the mission board to sister churches in Asia, Africa and South

* Membership of the conference now includes the following:

- American Lutheran Church (Board of Foreign Missions)
- Women's Missionary Federation (ALC)
- Augustana Lutheran Church (Board of World Missions)
- Augustana Lutheran Church Women
- Evangelical Lutheran Church (Board of Foreign Missions)
- Women's Missionary Federation (ELC)
- Lutheran Free Church
- Women's Missionary Federation (LFC)
- Lutheran Orient Mission
- National Lutheran Council
- Santal Mission
- United Evangelical Lutheran Church (Board of Foreign Missions)
- Women's Missionary Society (UELCA)
- United Lutheran Church in America
- United Lutheran Church Women
- Lutheran Mission to Israel
- Lutheran Church — Missouri Synod
- Suomi Synod (Board of Foreign Missions)
- Lutheran Guild of Suomi Synod
- World Mission Prayer League
- Lutheran Brethren of America

America; the qualifications and training of missionaries and their relation to the churches where they work as well as to the mission board; and such basic concerns as providing a trained clergy and laity, objectives of educational and medical work, and handling of funds both by the board and the beneficiaries. Probably the greatest contribution of the policy statement is that it puts down in black and white what the policy of the board is. Most of what it says is neither startling nor new. But seeing the policy in print is cause for constant rethinking and reevaluation. It serves to remind the board and its staff of what its long-range policies and objectives are. The statement has been very favorably received in a number of quarters, Dr. Erb reported.

Rounding out the rest of the program were five short papers based upon various aspects of the policy statement, with time devoted to discussion of each. The first was "The Place of Literature and Literacy in the Program of the Younger Churches." The conference was particularly fortunate in having Dr. Wesley Sadler, missionary of the United Lutheran Church to Liberia and director-elect of the African Literature and Writing Center, Northern Rhodesia, present this paper. He very forcibly pointed out that "a literate church is a better informed church, a stronger church and one that has greater power to reach out and influence for good the lives of those about it. To this end, literature and literacy should play an integral part in the program of the younger churches."

Speaking on "Providing a Trained Clergy in the Younger Churches" was the Rev. K. Devasahayam, professor at Lutherigiri Seminary in Rajamundry, South India, at present studying at Lutheran Theological Seminary, Philadelphia. He pointed out that the younger churches must "combine scholarship with Christian devotion and conviction... so as to 'out-think' the non-Christian world of secular thought." Mr. Devasahayam suggested that it would be well if the nationals on theological seminary faculties in Asia and Africa could have opportunity for advanced training in the West, and encouraged the idea of an exchange of theological lecture-ships.

The Rev. Kenneth Theile, American Lutheran Church missionary to New Guinea, had had experience during his first term in that land in the training of laymen in a Bible school. Thus he was well qualified to speak on "Providing a Trained Laity in the Younger

Churches." He reminded delegates that the rapid rise of the Christian religion in its early centuries was due to the power of the Spirit working in willing and articulate Christian laymen. Mr. Theile stressed the necessity of providing tasks in the church for all laymen, and that much more use could be made of laymen especially where there are insufficient clergy. He suggested that they might assist in canvassing and evangelistic work, teaching Bible study groups, training elders and conducting funerals and marriages. He also stressed the vital place of the Bible school movement, both in providing professional training to laymen to serve as evangelists and in grounding all laymen in the word of God.

The other two speakers were missionaries who had served in Japan. The Rev. David L. Vikner, Augustana Lutheran Church missionary to Japan and secretary-elect of the ULCA Board of Foreign Missions, suggested four ways in which assistance could be given to help the younger churches toward more effective stewardship: (1) by fostering a spirit of mutual confidence between older and younger churches by seeing to it that funds given to the church are entrusted to the church itself and not just to missionaries; (2) by impressing upon the younger churches the necessity of careful and proper reporting of the use of all church funds; (3) by "encouraging the development of indigenous stewardship movements no matter how strange they may seem to us"; and (4) by sharing with the younger churches what the churches in the West have learned about stewardship.

The Rev. Lars M. Ingulsrud, of the Evangelical Lutheran Church Board of Foreign Missions, spoke on "Audio-Visual Potential for Evangelism in the Younger Churches." Mr. Ingulsrud told the conference of his experience with the use of an audio-visual truck in the rural villages of Japan. In nine villages where he served with the mobile unit the average attendance was from 80 to 100. When for a while services were held without films, the average attendance dropped to five. "Audio-visual tools are not substitutes for a good Christian witness," but "a good Christian witness can be made more effective by using these tools."

Very little business as such is carried on by the conference (a refreshing departure for any group of Americans!) but the constitution needed revising to bring it up to date. Since the conference is now purely a consultative body and no longer the place to which Ameri-

can Lutherans turn as a channel for providing emergency relief, the constitution was revised with this fact in mind.

OSCAR R. ROLANDER

Theology

Maintaining a Movement

The Oslo Congress for Church Music

No one who was present in Oslo at the Lutheran Congress for Church Music (August 6-11, 1958) could have returned home with the impression that it wasn't worth the trip. The fare the sponsors offered was rich, in fact too rich. On each meeting day there were no less than four lectures, two concerts, an organ concert, matins and compline. This does not include the numerous discussions in larger and smaller groups. Anyone who conscientiously attended everything that was offered literally did not have a single hour free to spend seeing Oslo and gathering his own impressions of Norway and its people. Fortunately on the first day of business there was a reception in the Oslo town hall at which Rolf Stranger, mayor of Oslo, extended an unusually cordial and apt greeting welcoming the guests and praising music. It was also fortunate that Sunday afternoon had been kept free for a sightseeing tour by bus. At least then the guests had no need to depart feeling they had hardly had a chance to see Oslo and the beautiful country surrounding it.

The meeting was rich not only in quantity. The quality was also of the highest. Among the organists were men of the stature (in Europe) of Finn Viderö of Copenhagen, Gotthart Arnér of Stockholm, Enzio Forsblom of Helsinki and Arno Schönstedt of Herford, Germany. There were outstanding performances by the choir of the Norwegian Broadcasting System and the liturgical choir *Musica Sacra* (both under the direction of Rolf Karlsen), by the Nordic soloists' choir, under the direction of Knud Nystedt, and the excellent Swedish motet society from Karlstad, under the direction of Olle Ljungdahl. The most brilliant role was undoubtedly played by the *Westfälische Kantorei*—the choir of

the music school of Westphalia in Herford—under the direction of Prof. Wilhelm Ehmann; it took part in no less than four concerts, giving an outstanding performance of a comprehensive program impressive in its stylistic variety. Experts from the United States, France, Finland, Sweden, Norway, Germany and the LWF delivered lectures on the state of church music, hymnology and worship in Norway, the cooperation of the Nordic churches in hymnal revision, work in the LWF on the liturgy, similarities and differences in the orders of worship of the various Lutheran churches, liturgy and church music in the Lutheran churches of America, music and theology as viewed by Luther and the Reformation era, the education of theological students and church musicians in liturgics and church music, the position of the church musician in the church and in society, the liturgical tasks of the organ and the implications for the organ builder, liturgy and church music in the younger churches, and other topics. Matins followed the order of the Lutheran Liturgical Conference of Germany; compline was conducted according to an austere and impressive order of the Ancient Church, arranged by the *Musica Sacra* society of Norway. The most important part of the conference was the personal contacts made by the 150 or so participants. Thirteen countries were represented. Four persons from East Germany were able to get visas, among them Dr. Niklot Beste, Bishop of Mecklenburg, and Dr. William Nagel, professor of practical theology at Greifswald. The Poles and Hungarians who had registered did not arrive. The organization of the conference was outstanding. The chief credit for this belongs to the working committee of the Norwegian church music organizations. Under its chairman Arild Sandvold, organist at the Oslo cathedral, the committee made the best of advance preparations. The conference was conducted in an atmosphere of exemplary hospitality and cordiality, so that also in this respect all the conditions for success were given.

Was the Time Ripe?

At the same time one needed no special intuitive gifts to sense rather quickly that a feeling of uneasiness underlay the conference. It came out into the open in the discussion of the purpose of the conference and the question of continuance of work. However

excellent most of the lectures were and however much new and interesting material they offered, was it worth the participants' time, energy and money? Could not the same material have been made available—more simply, more cheaply and even more effectively—by mimeographing the papers and sending them to the interested parties for study at home? Against this argument one might raise the counter-argument, one that certainly carries weight, of the value of the personal contacts gained. But this was true to a greater or lesser degree only of the people who had an official part in the conference, and this was a relatively small number. The many visitors, who were there out of purely personal interest, reinforced, of necessity, the impression that the whole undertaking was unofficial. Added to this was the very uneven participation of the churches and church music institutions or organizations in the various countries. It was no surprise that the guest church was best represented, nor that the other Nordic churches had goodly contingents of visitors present. Numerous participants had also come from the Protestant territorial churches of Germany; and the fact that four leading figures in American church music had made the trip across the Atlantic deserves recognition and gratitude.

But there were still wide areas of Lutheranism with no representation whatever, and not only such as were unable to send representatives because government authorities would not allow it or financial resources were lacking. Under these circumstances was it possible conscientiously to carry out the original plan and constitute in full, at the end of the conference, the "Evangelical Lutheran World Conference for Church Music"? Wasn't the name much too pretentious when compared with what it actually denoted? Didn't the name transgress the law against mislabeling one's product? Naturally one might hope that many would join the "World Conference" once it had been established. But wasn't the basis for establishing it, even on such terms, still too scanty at present? All these reservations took on more weight the longer they were considered and finally won the day, with the result that the plan to constitute the "World Conference" in Oslo was given up and the following resolution passed instead:

(1) We aim to bring together *all* servants of evangelical church music holding responsible positions—practicing musicians, theologians, and others, and their organizations—into a world union.

(2) We fully realize that the name "Evangelical Lutheran World Conference" indicates the goal, and that it is only then applicable to the union when *all* essential persons in the service of church music belong to it.

(3) Consequently, we invite those who are not yet members to become such and ask their brotherly assistance. This may consist of:

- (a) Exchange of experiences.
 - (b) A seeking for scientific bases.
 - (c) The imparting of information concerning all significant artistic and scholarly publications appearing in the service of church music.
 - (d) Personal contacts.
- (Further details are given in the "Outlines" [of the proposed conference].)

(4) We express our gratitude to the initiators of the "World Conference" for the work done thus far, which has found expression in the Congress at Oslo (August 6-11, 1958). The comparatively loose organization of the "World Conference" reflects the present situation because the union is still in the process of being established. A more rigid form of union shall be created when the persons and organizations who ought to be involved are sufficiently represented and can help to fashion its constitution. An enlarged working committee shall carry on the direction.

(5) This committee shall do its work in contact with the Lutheran World Federation. Churches, societies, and persons not members of the Lutheran World Federation are likewise invited and welcomed to join the World Conference and work in it as members.

(6) We ask our Churches throughout the world to accept the service which we wish to offer in the "World Conference for Church Music," and to further this work with their help.

The previous members of the working committee were given a vote of confidence: Dr. Edgar S. Brown, Jr., New York; Prof. Theodore Hoelty-Nickel, Valparaiso, Ind.; Pastor Friedrich Hofmann, Heilsbronn bei Nürnberg, Germany; Cantor Willem Mudde, Utrecht; and Dr. Vilmos Vajta, LWF, Geneva. Harald Göransson, music director from Stockholm, replaced Cantor Sten Carlsson of Gamla Uppsala who wished to resign. Elected as new members in Oslo were Dr. Konrad Ameln, Westphalia; Dr. Paul Ensrud, Northfield, Minn.; Dr. Helge Nyman, Abo, Finland. The working committee, which was authorized to select a third German member, has in the meantime elected Dr. Wilhelm Ehmann of Herford, Westphalia.

At the Crossroads

The resolution is undoubtedly a wise decision. The crucial presuppositions for constituting a "Lutheran World Conference for Church Music" were indeed lacking. But

the question still remains whether the resolution is a genuine solution of the problems, and whether it will not perhaps lead to new misunderstandings and wrong developments.

To substantiate this statement, a short look at the history of the conference prior to the Oslo meeting is necessary.

If Erich Stange was able to begin his history of the German Student Christian Movement with the laconic statement, "Our movement begins with the conference," here the reverse is true: "The Evangelical Lutheran World Conference for Church Music begins with a movement." It was set in motion by a few church musicians and theologians, especially Cantor Willem Mudde of Utrecht—a man filled with ideas, initiative and enthusiasm. In the rebirth of church music these men had come to see for themselves, with joy and a sense of obligation, what a great thing evangelical church music is. Their own experience told them that church music—the gospel played and sung—is one of the greatest gifts of God's grace and one of the most important means the Lutheran church has for winning people. They wanted to bring these things which had become important for them, and were a primary concern for them, to others who as yet knew little or nothing of them. For this reason they sought union and fellowship with those of like mind. It is certainly no coincidence that some of the initiators of the movement came from the smaller Lutheran churches; they hoped to be able to strengthen their cause by having a large organization behind them. However much they were one in their conviction that Lutheran church music is rooted in the worship service, they felt, as a consequence of their rediscovery of church music, that the task of church music should not be restricted to the service of worship; they were thoroughly convinced that church music is kerygmatic as well as doxological and has an evangelistic task to fulfill.

This missionary spirit set the tone of the first conference in Amsterdam in 1955, to which the Evangelical Lutheran Church in the Netherlands played host. The participants, from widely differing European churches, found they were fighting for a common cause. The determination to stay together grew out of this discovery. Number (9) of the "Outlines," which represent the results of the Amsterdam conference, gives expression to the final and deepest concern of the participants: "The Evangelical Lutheran

World Conference for Church Music looks upon its work as an important contribution to the struggle for 'the edifying of the church' (1 Cor. 12, 13, 14) in the menacing secularization of our time." Some of the theoretical and practical tasks of the "World Conference" were mentioned in number (6): "a theological evaluation of the problem of form and content with regard to liturgy and church music (the so-called theology of the worship service and of music); questions pertaining to the character of service books, hymnals, choir books, etc.; the question of liturgy and church music in mission churches, of the relationship between liturgical forms and church music and the respective cultural environments, of the education of theologians and church musicians in liturgics and church music, of stewardship and church music (the missionary significance of church music); the relationship between Gregorian plain song and the different native tongues; the relationship between the functioning choir and organ in the service; the position of the church musician (in church and society); church music for special occasions; the use of instruments in the service, etc." (It might be noted that the lectures at Oslo followed this list exactly.)

One may of course ask whether this statement of tasks does full justice to the goal which the initiators of the Amsterdam conference had in mind. This is not to question the importance of every single one of the subjects mentioned under (6) and the fact that each deserves to be studied. But the "Outlines" say little or nothing about the manner in which the individual questions are to be answered and the various tasks dealt with. It is precisely this question, however, which must concern a genuine "movement," for which convictions are no less important than research. In the "Outlines" there was no criterion given which would have made it possible to "distinguish between spirits." It was perhaps assumed that the Lutheran confession would be this touchstone, but Oslo showed that this is not enough.

In making these observations, one should not overlook the fact that the congress took place in Norway. It is true that church music in Norway is firmly rooted in the worship service, but most of the participants in the conference were astonished at the selection of music and the way it was performed. The organ movement seems to have bypassed the Norwegian church entirely. In the many worship

services and concerts I attended I did not hear a single organ whose tone measured up to present-day conceptions. Norway's neighbor Denmark, on the other hand, is the leader in European organ building. The liturgical settings of the Norwegian "high mass" still use the typical *cantus fractus* of the 19th century, a form of Gregorian shaped by the fondness for harmony of a musically inferior age. Organ playing and choir singing are also in the style of the romantic school. It is not only that both thus acquire a fatal element of emphasis upon feeling; but music performed in this way also gives a "bourgeois" effect which we in other Protestant churches can no longer bear. Measured by the standards of the church music movement, the hymnal is also in urgent need of revision. A conference in Oslo was not necessary to make large numbers of people in the Norwegian church aware of this. For some years there has been a "Movement for the Renewal of Church Music," calling itself *Musica Sacra*. Its leading church musician is Rolf Karlsen, the first-rate cantor mentioned above, and its theological spokesman is Pastor Hans Buvarp, who is well versed in liturgics and hymnology.

Many of the visitors to Oslo found that they felt "at home" in a worship service or concert only when they were attending a vespers, say, or an evening concert conducted by this group. There everything was in order, with no loose ends. And if one might be inclined to disagree at this or that point, there was still the common framework that is necessary for meaningful and fruitful discussion. The printed annual reports of *Musica Sacra* make this clear. These are only a few of the subjects: organists' trips to Denmark and Germany; cultivation of contemporary Norwegian organ music; celebration of Luther's *Deutsche Messe* in Norwegian translation; cultivation of the canonical hours (*evangelisk tidebønn*); production of an edition of the order of compline; study conferences for Lutheran church music; starting a liturgical choir; performing a Bach advent cantata in the worship service; preparation of a new hymnal.

A movement like *Musica Sacra* does not represent an isolated phenomenon. It is always the case everywhere that the new—also when it is the newly discovered old—comes to be accepted only after a struggle. Where Lutheran church music is recognized as a heritage which imposes responsibilities upon us, church music and liturgical move-

ments will come into being. The most recent offspring of this movement, now making its way through all of Lutheranism, is the "Lutheran Society for Worship, Music and the Arts" in the United States which looks upon itself as the American section of the "World Conference" and in the short time in which it has been in existence has already gained 600 members.

These remarks have made clear, I hope, why I have entitled this section "At the Crossroads." The initiators of the "World Conference" wanted to start a *movement*. They were convinced that genuine church music would penetrate the life of the church like a leaven and renew it—not through feverish activity or bureaucratic organization, but by reason of the hidden, transforming power of music. One may reasonably ask whether the name "Evangelical Lutheran World Conference for Church Music" actually designates what the leaders of the movement are striving for. In addition, it will have to be admitted that the present foundations are too meager to serve as the basis of a world organization, no matter what the name. Most certainly there are persons in other Lutheran churches who will become part of the movement once the signal to join forces has been given. In that respect it was good that no organizational steps were taken in Oslo which, in one way or another, would have created new difficulties.

On the other hand, everything will depend on whether, with an increase in its breadth, the new fellowship will retain its original dynamic. I find I cannot agree with the first sentence of the Oslo declaration: if one is really striving to bring together "*all* servants of evangelical church music holding responsible positions . . . and their organizations," that could be the kiss of death. The result would probably be nil since the trumpet is no longer giving a certain sound. One should, without any pharisaic self-sufficiency, restrict recruiting efforts to persons in the ecumenical world who are of like mind. Therefore one should probably venture to define the content of what one is striving for. Every genuine movement needs clearcut guidelines marking off those who belong from those who do not.

The description of the goals of the "World Conference" in statement (3) of the declaration is therefore inadequate and, in view of its false emphases, not a little dangerous: exchange of experiences, a seeking of scientific bases, exchange of information about artistic

and scholarly publications, personal contacts. That means, to put it bluntly, replacing the dynamic with the static and the statistical. The decisive thing is lacking! We certainly do not mean to underestimate the value of such exchange of information and scholarly literature. But for this purpose no special organization is required. There is not the slightest need for an organization embracing all the persons in Lutheranism holding responsible positions in church music and all their organizations. What is needed is a comprehensive, world-wide movement of renewal of church music.

OSKAR SÖHNEN

World Service

The Evangel and Evangelism

European Conference for Lutheran Minority Churches

"How is the commission of Christ to bring the gospel to all peoples being carried out in your country?" With this question Dr. Vilmos Vajta, director of the Department of Theology of the Lutheran World Federation in Geneva, opened the conference of European Lutheran minority churches in the name of the executive secretary of the federation, Dr. Carl E. Lund-Quist, who was visiting in the United States. Forty-five representatives of Lutheran churches in England, France, the Netherlands, Luxembourg, Austria, Poland, Switzerland, Finland, Sweden, the Soviet Union, West Germany, Italy and Yugoslavia took part in the conference held in Hohrodberg, France, from January 12-16, 1959. It inaugurated discussion on the theme "The Gospel and Evangelism." It was likewise the beginning of an exchange between the churches represented of their theory and practice in the field of evangelism. The discussion was led by the LWF secretary for European minority churches, Pastor Mogens V. Zeuthen of Geneva. Special guests included Archbishop Jaan Kiivit (Estonia), Dean Victor Ozolins (Latvia) and Dean Julius Voolaid (Latvia), all from the Soviet Union, Bishop N. A. Housse from Luxembourg, Dean Willi Schwennen from Germany, and the general

secretary of the French Protestant Federation, Pastor André Appel of Paris.

Indicative and Imperative

In his paper on "The Gospel and Evangelism" Pastor Albert Greiner of Paris referred to the tension between receiving and giving imposed upon the church by Christ's two statements, "Come unto me, all ye that labor..." and "Go ye... and teach all nations..." He mentioned three bases of evangelism: (a) a person who possesses the good news needs to pass it on; (b) the world which is under the spell of fear must discover that the new aeon has already begun and that Christ has already won the victory; (c) the gospel brings new life and all good gifts, but the church which wants to keep all this for itself strangles on it; only when the gospel is shared does it shed its full blessing on the church. The gospel is the sole content of evangelism, and neither moral teaching nor ideology may be allowed to distort this content. But are the emphases of the Reformers still valid or must we seek new ones for modern man? (Instead of the forgiveness of sins, should we perhaps speak of God's liberating act?) Another question raised by Pastor Greiner was whether we can work together with other confessions and where it would be necessary, for the sake of the truth, to say no. With regard to the use of modern media of advertising and propaganda, he said we should not rely on these to put our message across, for it is God's will that his glory should remain veiled as yet and that his church should stand under the cross. Christ himself is the church's sole evangelist and he will reveal himself.

In the discussion a warning was given against treating tradition with disapproval, as though it were only a false source of preaching. For what are we really trying to build up through evangelism? An *ecclesiola*, or perhaps a new splinter group, in which, as people like to say, "the gospel is finally being preached"? Is not evangelism rather directed to the church of God, built on the foundation of the apostles and prophets? Genuine *traditio* is after all the handing on of the apostolic doctrine concerning Christ.

In discussion of "pure doctrine," it was pointed out that Lutherans must of course take a firm doctrinal stand, but that abstract terminology should not be brought into the pulpit.

Dr. Hans-Jochen Margull, from the University of Hamburg, directed the conference to look at church and mission eschatologically, from the perspective of the parousia. He advanced the thesis that in mission the primary factor is not human efforts but the action of God. Mission is God's own gathering of his church through the sending of his Son. He gathers people when he sends out his disciples and when he commits to the church the missionary task. The church is an eschatological entity, the sign that the end is breaking in upon the present, the place where the nations are being gathered for heaven. Our customary attitude to mission work, and perhaps also mission methods in Africa and Asia, should be revised accordingly. Missionary work cannot be simply the transplanting of the divided churches of Europe, said Dr. Margull. As we attempt to carry out the mission imperative we confront nations which have come of age and have become critical. For them a white face often has imperialistic features. Because we are the church, we must of course continue to send missionaries, but not without repenting in the small things of everyday life. We must stop thinking of Europe as the center of the world, we must stop speaking of Negroes instead of Africans, of natives instead of indigenous people. The problems of Asia and Africa must be viewed from the standpoint of those continents.

In the discussions the question of "new congregations" came up repeatedly and the parallelism between evangelism and foreign missions again became apparent. For instance, how can a person from skid row be incorporated into the church as it exists at present? Or, should the evangelism of a foreign church in Paris restrict itself to that particular foreign colony and its culture? Is it permissible for the newly-established church overseas to display features differing from those of the Lutheran church in Leipzig or Lower Saxony? The answer that these problems cannot be met without "new fellowships" is only an emergency solution. At the same time efforts must also be made to renew the "old fellowships." The "old" and the "new" congregations must bear the tension with patience and know that they are both under the lordship of the same Lord and have a common goal. The new congregations should be given a great deal of scope for individual development, but development cannot take place in a vacuum: the son bears the features of his father.

Worship and Evangelism

The third plenary session dealt with the theme of worship and evangelism. Dr. P. O. Sjögren, pastor in Göteborg, Sweden, made the climax of his lecture the statement: "The altar is the starting point and the goal of evangelism." What do we Lutherans mean by "worship"? he asked. It is the service of the church *coram Deo*, the church on earth as well as in heaven, the angels and saints before the throne of the Lamb. Viewed in this heavenly perspective, the liturgy is the angel choirs' song of praise taken up and chanted by the church here on earth; and Holy Communion is the heavenly wedding feast which we here on earth are privileged to partake of in an "antechamber," as it were. In Holy Communion Christ, and therefore also the kingdom of God, is in the midst of us.

Since in the Reformed church the real presence of Christ is clearly denied, stated Pastor Sjögren, the Reformed service of worship is not directed toward fellowship with the heavenly world, but toward the exchange of the experiences and ideas of the local congregation on earth—something which can also take place without liturgy. Hence, said the pastor, the Reformed church has easier access to the ordinary man, whereas the invitation with which the Lutheran church is entrusted—an invitation to a meeting with angels and saints, indeed, with God himself—faces greater difficulties.

Our evangelism consists therefore in preparing people for the full worship service. This takes place in pastoral care leading to confession, through lay visitation, through gradually accustoming the unchurched to the worship of the church. In various places (Germany, Denmark and Sweden, e.g.) attempts have been made to create intermediate steps preparing people for the Sunday worship service. Short weekday services are held at which familiar hymns are sung and only a short address is given. The harassed man of today must be offered more frequent opportunities to enjoy the tranquillity and the profound peace of worship, said Pastor Sjögren. The goal is to lead people up to the main service of worship on Sunday. Another observation made by Sjögren was that in Sweden the canonical hours have become increasingly popular and that young people in particular observe them. The heavenly service of worship is celebrated, the church on earth has the privilege of joining in, and it is the task of evangelism to lead

individuals to the place where, in serving, they can partake in the abundant life God grants.

This lecture provoked as much agreement as criticism. It was good to have the surpassing significance of the full worship service of the church of Christ presented so clearly for once in contrast to forms of evangelism which exhaust their possibilities in subjective experience and never lead to worship. On the other hand, it was felt that the lecture may have oversimplified the present distinction between "Lutheran" and "Reformed." There are Lutheran churches where the service of worship is rationalistic and shallow, and there are whole strata of the Reformed church in which the present Lord is praised and received in a rich liturgy. While one colleague whispered enthusiastically, "I'm going to Sweden," another thought that the lecture had completely distorted the aim of evangelism, which was to equip man for witness in the world.

Mr. Etienne Jung, president of the Directorate of the Lutheran church in Alsace-Lorraine, said in his speech welcoming the guests that he was glad his invitation to Hohrodberg had been accepted because he would like the Lutheran church in Alsace to play the role which its history and geographical situation allot to it. Through conferences such as this fraternal cooperation has come about in a divided world at least between the members of one church. In the conference we learned from one another as various participants gave reports from their particular fields of experience. Pastor Richard N. Nelson of the LWF staff in Geneva spoke on evangelism and visitor training in North America, Pastor Greiner on the inner mission of the Lutheran church in Paris, Pastor B. Chavannes on work in the church in Montbéliard, France, and Pastor Henri Ochsenbein on his work as leader of the home missions fellowship in Alsace-Lorraine. The delegates from Austria presented interpretations of Bible passages and reported on the difficulties of working in a secularized Roman Catholic environment. The witness of the delegates from the East (Yugoslavia, the Baltic countries and Poland) touched us deeply. Is not the indifference and the practical materialism of the West often a worse enemy of the spiritual life than the atheistic ideology which the church has to face in the East?

The group discussions gave thorough consideration to the various problems and

potentialities of evangelism, e.g., retreats for pastors, special training of the laity, and winning youth. The discussions repeatedly provided fresh stimuli for and from the various churches represented. The final discussion centered on the theme, "How can we help one another?" It was agreed that we help one another not by exchanging recipes or methods but by staying together and by ourselves returning again and again to Christ the Lord, who sends us out into the world. It was fitting therefore that the conference began and ended with a service of worship in the cathedral at Münster (in Alsace), near the conference center. In receiving the Lord's Supper and in praying the prayer the Lord has given his church we experienced the true basis of our fellowship and of our mission. The many nationalities of a divided Europe there confessed their common origin and their common hope: "Our Father... Thy Kingdom come."

HERBERT WILD

Committee on Latin America

Younger Churches in Latin America

From October 18-20, 1958, the Committee on Latin America of the Lutheran World Federation gathered in Berlin for its annual meeting with Dr. Friedrich Hübner of Hannover, chairman of the committee, presiding. Other members present were Pastor Åke Kastlund, Sweden, Dr. Ernesto Schlieper, Brazil, and Dr. Earl Treusch, Canada. Dr. Rolf Syrdal, executive secretary of the Board of Foreign Missions of the ELC, substituted for Dr. Melvin A. Hammarberg of the United States who was unable to attend. Finally, Dr. Carl E. Lund-Quist took part in the meeting and Dr. Stewart W. Herman, the "soul" of LWF Latin America work, whose period of office was extended until the next assembly of the LWF.

Financial matters occupied much of the attention of the committee, as usually happens at business sessions. The cold facts and figures indicate the scope of the work, however, which takes in the whole of the South American continent. They show that the work is increasing steadily in intensity. Some of the

projects receiving financial support are the building of the church in Quito, Ecuador; the erection of a dormitory for married students at the seminary in Buenos Aires; and the SCM center in Sao Paulo, Brazil. Grants were also made toward the training of a pastor of the German Evangelical Church in Chile and of a young pastor from Germany at the language school in San José, Costa Rica; money was also granted to make it possible for theological candidates from Brazil to study in Neuendettelsau, Germany.

The third Latin American conference, scheduled for April in Buenos Aires, received considerable attention. In addition to the representatives of Latin American churches and congregations who will be attending the conference, 12 to 15 leading churchmen from Europe and North America are expected to be present. The crucial issue at the conference will be that of the proper proclamation of the gospel in Latin America. Closely connected with it are these other questions: cooperation with mother churches; the training of indigenous theologians; creation of theological and church literature in Spanish and Portuguese; and, finally, the responsibility of churches and congregations for their youth. The Latin American committee will itself meet in Buenos Aires immediately before and after the conference, on April 13 and 20.

The committee's decision to continue visitations, with past experiences as a guide, is important for the whole of LWF work in Latin America. The committee had in its hands the report of the last visitor from LWF, Dr. Vilmos Vajta. In 1959 Prof. Kooiman of the Netherlands is to be invited to visit Latin America and in 1960 Dean Ragnar Askmark of Sweden.

The fact that the committee was meeting in Berlin made it possible to acquaint a greater number of people with its work. Both the church and the secular press ran articles about the committee. Dr. Herman, who was pastor of the American Church in Berlin up until the outbreak of the war, preached from a Berlin pulpit for the first time in 17 years. At a large evening meeting Dr. Herman, President Schlieper and Pastor Kastlund spoke about their work in Latin America.

At the close of the meeting the whole committee met with the representatives of the Nordic Council of Seamen's Missions to discuss the possibilities of closer cooperation between seamen's work in Latin American ports and pastoral care of the resident Scan-

dinavian communities in the larger cities of the interior. In principle, it was decided to set up a number of joint projects involving Peru, Ecuador, Colombia, Venezuela and Mexico. Further study was to be given to the situation in Brazil and Chile. If these joint projects are realized it is to be expected that the number of Scandinavian pastors on the northern and western coast of South America will be doubled in the next two or three years.

Latin America a Mission Field?

The fact that the committee met in Germany gave its members an opportunity to take part afterward in the meeting of the advisory committee for Latin America of the German national committee of the LWF. Their presence made the meeting, held in Stuttgart, particularly fruitful. The advisory committee is informally constituted. Once a year the German representative on the Latin America committee, Dr. Hübner, invites to this meeting representatives of various organizations and other persons who are either connected with work in Latin America by virtue of their own work or have had personal experience in this area. Dr. Adolf Wischmann, president of the Office of External Affairs of the Evangelical Church in Germany (EKiD), was present, for example, as well as the office's secretary for Latin America, Oberkirchenrat Bartelt. The educational institutions at Neuendettelsau, Wuppertal and Hermannsburg were represented by their directors, and the church agencies by persons from the *Martin Luther Bund*, the *Gustav Adolf Werk* and the Kaiserswerth deaconess institution. In addition various other persons who had made official visits to Latin America in recent years were present at the meeting as well as pastors who had either worked in Latin America or were home on furlough. It would not be presumptuous to say that one will seldom find again a group of this caliber.

The most recent visitors reported first: Dr. Wischmann, who had gathered his first impressions of Latin America work as a whole; Dr. Heinz Flügel, who spoke of great success in the attempt to transplant Evangelical Academy work to this new field; and Dr. Joachim Braun, who had attempted to strengthen the congregations and pastors in a certain area through a program of evangelism.

For all the differences in their reports the three were at one in emphasizing one phenomenon which the ensuing discussions also emphasized and threw light upon from various directions: the Evangelical congregations in Latin America are moving more consciously and with greater impetus toward becoming independent churches. This is as true of the congregations which have been established in northern South America as it is of those which are over a hundred years old, in Argentina, Brazil and Chile. Dr. Schlieper, president of the Evangelical Church of the Lutheran Confession in Brazil, emphasized that it was certainly true of Brazil: "We are churches in our own right or we are at least moving in that direction." From this there follows quite naturally the tie of the Evangelical Church in Brazil with the EKiD as its mother church and, as a church shaped by the Reformation of Martin Luther, its tie with the LWF. At the church's recent convention in Curitiba, Brazil, a feeling of fellowship between synods and congregations became manifest as hardly ever before. The same can be said of this young church's great task in its native country Brazil.

This increased Protestant responsibility in Latin America makes an old problem increasingly urgent, however: the supplying of pastors for congregations. In spite of the gratifying work of the theological seminaries in Sao Leopoldo and Buenos Aires, the churches in Brazil and Argentina will for at least another generation have to draw a good proportion of their pastors from North America and Europe (and, because of the structure of the majority of the congregations, especially from Germany). A good deal of the discussion at the meeting was therefore devoted to the training and maintenance of pastors for Brazil at the schools in Neuendettelsau, Wuppertal and, more recently, Hermannsburg. The main concerns with reference to the seminaries in Latin America itself are the sending of qualified teachers there and the creation of theological literature in Spanish and Portuguese.

The language question is intimately related to the movement of these Latin American churches toward independence. Dr. Schlieper emphasized that the question is indeed an important one but in principle no problem. The church has no reason to speed up the change from one language to another; on the other hand the church must proclaim the gospel in the language which people

understand. The practical result is that in many congregations preaching is done in two languages and in some congregations, especially in northern South America, in more than two languages.

Also related to the fact of the churches' growing independence is the question of mission, always a measure of a church's life. Since Latin America was proclaimed as mission field number one at the IMC Assembly in Ghana last year, Dr. Hübner raised this question, without offering any pat answers. The great shortage of pastors was cited by some as a practical reason for opposing mission work on the part of the younger churches in Latin America: their most urgent task at present must be to provide pastoral care for their own members; then they can move out into the Latin American environment. Others raised objections on principle: Is it permissible to carry on mission work in a Roman Catholic milieu as one would in a pagan situation — as North American mission societies, among them Lutheran societies, are doing? The counter question is whether and to what extent Latin America is already Roman Catholic. In commenting on this problem Dr. Schlieper emphasized that the existing congregations, through their transition from one language to two, are already having a missionary impact upon their environment. In time, he said, this impact will undoubtedly increase, so that in Latin America Rome will someday have to struggle with the gospel and come to terms with it.

JOHANNES PFEIFFER

World Council of Churches

Rapid Social Change: Three Years of Study

In 1955 the Central Committee of the World Council approved plans of its Department on Church and Society for a study program on "The Common Christian Responsibility Toward Areas of Rapid Social Change." The idea for the study had arisen out of the discussion of the responsible society at the Evanston Assembly where it was emphasized

that the ecumenical movement must give more attention to the social revolution underway in Asia, Africa and Latin America. A gift of \$100,000 made the study possible and this last summer, three years after its launching, has been an occasion to review its results and make plans for its completion. The following is a brief account of the organization of the project, some of the problems encountered, the response of the churches and the plans for the future.

In Asia, Africa and Latin America

It was decided to study the problems of rapid social change under four headings: responsible citizenship, change in rural and village life, industrialization and urbanization, and the impact of the West. These four themes were outlined in two statements on the purpose of the study prepared and published by the Working Committee in 1955 and 1956. To secure the necessary experience in dealing with the technical aspects of these problems a group of Christian laymen and church leaders who are authorities on these subjects were invited to share in the meetings of the Working Committee; these included many Christians from Asia and Africa. The key person in the study has been the chairman of the Church and Society Committee, Professor E. de Vries, rector of the Institute of Social Studies in The Hague, and formerly a member of the staff of the International Bank for Finance and Reconstruction. Professor de Vries is one of the world's foremost authorities on the social and economic problems of countries in Asia, Africa and Latin America and a layman with a tremendous interest in understanding the relevance of the gospel for the situation which confronts people in these countries.

In cooperation with the churches in Asia, Africa and Latin America, major study projects were organized in twelve countries: Brazil, French Cameroon, Egypt, Ghana, India, Indonesia, Japan, Kenya, Lebanon, Liberia, Northern Rhodesia and the Union of South Africa. Smaller projects have been undertaken in several other areas of the three continents. In addition the churches in several countries in the West (in Europe, the USA, Australia, and New Zealand) have organized their own study programs especially in relation to the discussion of the impact of the West.

Not all of the area programs have been completed as yet and some, such as those in Egypt and Lebanon, were badly interrupted by crises brought on by over-rapid change. There has been no fixed pattern to these area studies. Within the framework of the four major issues posed for study, the churches in these areas have been invited to establish a study project which would deal with those issues which were of primary concern in their situation. Upon request consultants and advisors have been supplied on particular problems, but the emphasis has been on encouraging the local churches and their members to engage in study on these issues in relation to and in cooperation with simultaneous study in other countries and at the international and regional level.

To help direct and implement the study in these different parts of the world the staff of the Department on Church and Society has been expanded by the addition of staff consultants in Asia and Africa who were given a large measure of responsibility for directing the study in their areas. Mr. M. M. Thomas of Trivandrum, India, was named as staff consultant for the study in Asia, and Dr. John Karefa-Smart served as staff consultant for the study in Africa before he resigned to become a minister in the government in Sierra Leone. The Rev. Daisuke Kitagawa joined the staff in Geneva to help with the international aspects of the program.

The international staff has sought to render assistance to the different area projects by visits and advice and through information provided in a wide range of literature published for the study.

Reactions of the Churches, and Results

Generally speaking the churches have responded enthusiastically to the program. This was for many of these churches their first contact with the ecumenical movement as well as their first opportunity to participate in ecumenical study. This is particularly true of the churches in Africa and Latin America. They have welcomed the opportunity to come into contact with other Christians around the world and to study the problems of rapid social change in the context of a world-wide Christian discussion on this subject. Missions and younger churches have seen in this study the possibility of a new and more realistic approach to their problems. The reality of a study of rapid social change is well illustrated

in the words of a missionary leader in Northern Rhodesia:

Nothing is more necessary here at the moment than such a study of rapid social change.... Time is short here, and the next five to seven years may be vital, if we have even that long. The old order is changing with revolutionary speed, the churches are bewildered and floundering, the missionaries are overburdened with the daily routine and hesitant of change either in thought forms or in methods. Indeed few seem to be aware of the gravity of the situation....

It is evident that the study is meeting a fundamental need.

Perhaps the interest of the churches in this study is in inverse proportion to their capacity to cope with the problems of social change. The three years of work reveal that while the churches see the need to be concerned about the problems of rapid social change they are as yet far from being able to cope successfully with these problems. A progress report presented to the Central Committee in August declares that "it is our experience in the study that very frequently churches are galvanized to action by the realization that their youth are leaving the church, sometimes because they find it irrelevant, sometimes attracted by secular ideologies.... In many areas, the churches also suffer from the effects of the 'wasted years of stagnation,' the recent decades when they failed to see the change that was building up and to prepare for it. This explains the many neglected problems, the spiritual unpreparedness and the ethical and technical inadequacy which characterize the Christian response to the present situation in so many areas of the world."

It is evident that the social upheaval in these areas is requiring not only the churches there to rethink their position in relation to social problems but is also forcing a critique of views and approaches held by churches in the West.

Some of the problems facing the western churches were explored in a European consultation held in Denmark, August, 1958, on the subject: *The Specific European Responsibilities in Relation to Asia and Africa*. This four-day consultation, attended by 70 persons, including theologians, missionary leaders and leading lay persons, provided an excellent opportunity for European Christians to discuss this topic with a group of their fellow Christians from Africa and Asia. A group of American church leaders also participated as observers. Some of the topics discussed were:

The European church and the political involvement of Europe in Asia and Africa.

This included an analysis of the transition from colonialism to new political relationships now taking place and the role of European churches and missions in the present situation. This opened a debate between European and African and Asian participants on the subject of nationalism and the responsibilities of nationhood.

The social and cultural impact of Europe upon Asia and Africa through education, literature, the motion picture and the impact of European social ideologies and industrial techniques. This topic was presented by Professor Busia of Ghana, Professor Masao Takenaka of Japan, Father Makary of the Coptic Church of Egypt and Pastor Ralibera, a young pastor to students from Madagascar. This was one of the most stimulating and helpful sessions of the consultation, with interest focusing on the problem of cultural and spiritual schizophrenia created by the rapid introduction of western techniques and values in areas of Africa and Asia.

The ethical problems of European private enterprise in areas of rapid social change. Discussion on this topic revealed how Asian and African reactions to rapid social change require a reexamination of the social assumptions of western industrial and technical society.

The responsibilities of Europe to provide developmental assistance to the countries of Asia and Africa. This subject was presented by three experts on economic and technical assistance, and resulted in a realistic discussion of responsibilities of European governments in giving aid and of the conditions under which aid should be offered.

A report of this consultation has been published and forwarded to European and American churches and lay groups to stimulate further study and action on these questions.

Theological Issues

One of the problems in the study has been to help the churches see that this is not a technical study of social problems duplicating the methods and approach of the many government and international bodies already

working on the technical problems of the so-called underdeveloped countries. The World Council has made use of such investigations and it has made some study of its own on the nature and scope of change in different countries. It is mainly concerned, however, with making clearer the Christian responsibility in relation to the causes and effects of social change. It is primarily therefore a study of the ethical issues involved; but technical and ethical investigation of social and economic problems must always be closely related. Our study reveals that there are no short cuts and no simple answers to questions of Christian responsibility in areas of rapid social change. Certain fundamentally theological and ethical issues do emerge in the study. A report on the study lists these as follows:

- (1) The issues arising from changing cultural values and the disintegration of old forms of community life. In many areas there has been a complete revolution in the ethical standards on which society has been based. The old traditions and customs are breaking down. The task of the church is to consider how it can help its members to think through the question of what new social aims should guide their lives, and to help their societies discover the values which should underlie choices in social, political and economic policy.
- (2) The theological issues associated with the critique of new forms of political and economic life. Through programs of aid and technical assistance the West offers to other countries its technology, its concept of a democratic welfare society and of social security, its standards of medical care, of individual rights, in relation to the family and other groups. Which of these offerings should be accepted and to what extent must they be adapted? There is often a lack of soundly conceived theological-ethical criteria by which people can be helped to decide which of these western techniques and institutions will really help to advance human welfare in the new situation and which will not.
- (3) Theological issues arising from the cooperation of Christians and non-Christians in the areas of rapid social change. Where Christians are a small

minority and where the state is dominated by a particular religion or religious ideology many problems arise. There are basic theological issues which must be explored before such difficulties can be surmounted.

The discussion of these basic theological issues and their interpretation in terms of creative ethical action in the different situations of rapid social change will be the main concern in concluding stages of this ecumenical study program.

Forthcoming Conferences and Books

In July, 1959, an international study conference on rapid social change will be held at Thessalonike, Greece. The title of the conference will be "Christian Action in Rapid Social Change—Dilemmas and Opportunities." Before and after this meeting various regional conferences are being planned in Asia, Africa and Latin America to evaluate the results of the work there and to make plans for the future.

Plans are also underway for the publication of two volumes summing up the results of the study at the world level. The two volumes will deal with the fundamental problems of rapid social change and the response of the churches to rapid social change. It is expected that these two volumes will be published by the fall of 1960.

PAUL ABRECHT

Basel Bible Society

Wanted: Old Bibles

The Basel Bible Society looks back on a history of over 150 years. From its founding in 1804 up to 1896 it was engaged in what was probably one of the greatest and most fruitful works of its time: the printing and distribution of Martin Luther's translation of the Bible. Its name when it was working with the Nuremberg Bible Society was "German Bible Society in Basel." Later this was shortened to "Basel Bible Society."

Our collection of Bibles contains primarily editions which have played an important part

in the history of the Bible in Switzerland. The Basel Bible Society would now like to complete this collection of historic editions, especially through the acquisition of editions of the Luther Bible published from the time of the Reformation up to 1700.

While dealers in old books are concerned about the state of external preservation of such old Bibles (their binding, e.g.), for us this is not a decisive factor. The important thing is that the text itself still be legible. We are even interested in fragments of Bibles where the edition is a very old and valuable one from the Reformation period.

We therefore appeal to owners of Bibles who can bring themselves to part with them to write briefly giving the following information:

What are the place and date of publication of the Bible?

Does it contain illustrations (woodcuts or engravings)?

Is it complete, or is the title page, preface, or any other part missing?

Has it suffered damage (from damp, insects, etc.)?

Are some of the pages torn?

The curator of the Basel collection will be grateful for all communications and will answer each one and if possible also make an offer of a price. The owner will be under no obligation to accept the offer; the decision to sell his Bible remains with him. Our offer will ordinarily be higher than any made by dealers in old books, since our purpose is not to resell the books but to preserve them and where necessary restore them. Postage incurred by the senders will be reimbursed.

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Bischofshof, Rittergasse,
Basel, Switzerland.*

PHILIPP SCHMIDT, CURATOR

FROM LANDS AND CHURCHES

Germany

What the Statistics Say about Mixed Marriages

In Germany mixed marriages came to be important through the influence of the Enlightenment, on the one hand, and, on the other, the granting of the right to live, work and travel where one pleases. In the last century, in consequence of this right and in consequence of industrialization, internal migration increased to an extent hitherto unknown, industrial centers and large cities grew up, and the population mingled without respect to religious confession and geographical origin. The second world war set in motion, at the moment of catastrophe, a new wave of migration which rolls on and on.

Consequently the point of departure for discussion of the issue, which has once again moved into prominence, and for the pronouncements of the Roman Catholic Church, the Evangelical Church in the Rhineland and of many theologians as well is a sociological state of affairs. The probability that a person will be thrown together with persons of another confession is today much greater than it once was. In the selection of a marriage partner a person's confession has nowhere near the significance one might like to ascribe to it. We may lament that but we must recognize it.

Confessional vs. Economic Factors

Statistical studies of various areas in Germany show that the number of people entering into mixed marriages is smaller than the purely statistical probabilities would lead one to expect. But as yet no confession has been able to keep mixed marriages from being contracted. The confessional minorities in a given place are more "susceptible" than the confessional majority, since the people who belong to a minority have only a small chance of finding a life's partner among the adherents of their own confession within a diaspora situation. While in a diaspora

situation confessional differences are still consciously felt, in industrial centers and big cities they lose almost all significance since the general pattern of life in a big city has more influence upon the behavior of a modern man than do church ties. The man and woman considering marriage seldom see the difficulties that a difference in faith gives rise to; more important for them are the economic factors, since these lie on the surface and are for the moment immediately perceptible. One has to keep in mind especially that in adolescence a great number of young people lose the relatively close relations they may have had with the church, and in their doubts and questioning look for other solutions to life's problems. But very often the decision to marry, or the necessity to do so, falls in this time of crisis.

These reflections are substantiated by the figures. In the Church Province of Saxony, e.g., the percentage of Protestants went down from 92 in 1900 to 78 in 1950, in Hannover from 86 to 78, in Württemberg from 69 to 60. Such displacements make themselves felt even in large areas like these; in countries and communities they are naturally felt all the more. In Bavaria in 1939, e.g., there were still 1,475 communities where all the residents were Roman Catholic; in 1946 there were only nine. Since that time the Protestants living in little, out of the way communities located in areas almost totally Roman Catholic have moved away, and the number of Bavarian communities with purely Roman Catholic population has again risen to 27 (1950). In 1939 there were in Bavaria still 244 communities where all the residents were Protestant; in 1946 and 1950 there was none.

Cuius regio, eius religio

Despite the mobility of the German population, the confessional structure of Germany today still indicates, centuries later, which areas were Protestant or Roman Catholic (depending on the faith of the territorial prince). In none of the provinces of the Federal Republic and in none of the former provinces¹ of the German Democratic Republic

¹ In the DDR the provinces, as units of government, have been dissolved; there are only governmental districts (*Bezirke*) now.

lic (DDR) has the "reigning" confession become a minority. As a result of the continuing movement of the population it may be that when the next census is taken changes may come to light in larger areas where the two confessions are close numerically. It is conjectured that this will happen in Westphalia, e.g., to the advantage of the Protestant section of the population.

In 1950 three-fifths of the German population was Protestant, more than a third Roman Catholic and five per cent did not belong to any church or religious community. Those in the latter category have increased in the meantime, owing to the withdrawals from the church in the DDR and in East Berlin. Nevertheless the two major Christian churches, despite all the anti-church propaganda, have not suffered any significant losses. In the Federal Republic in 1950 over half the population was Protestant; this percentage has since been increased by the immigration from East Germany. In Lower Saxony, Schleswig-Holstein, Hamburg, Bremen and all the former provinces of the DDR, the population is more than three-fourths Protestant; no province is more than three-fourths Roman Catholic.

Unfortunately figures from 1950, the year of the last census, are lacking on the religious affiliation of marriage partners in Germany as a whole and in the Federal Republic as well. In North Rhine-Westphalia, however, 16 per cent of all marriages were mixed marriages, in Hamburg it was 20 per cent (a very considerable number of the partners in these marriages were unchurched). A representative sampling in the Federal Republic showed that the percentage of mixed marriages varied from one branch of the economy to another. The lowest percentage is found among those engaged in farming and forestry.

The number of mixed marriages is increasing steadily. The increase, it is true, is not as great as the number of marriages contracted would lead one to expect, since over a period of years an indeterminate number of partners in a mixed marriage leave their own church and join that of their spouse, or enter the church for the first time, or leave the church entirely—with the result that the marriage is no longer "mixed."

In Germany in 1901, of 470,000 new marriages not quite nine per cent were mixed marriages. In 1910, with 496,000 new marriages, every tenth one was a mixed marriage. In 1925 fourteen per cent of the 483,000

marriages were mixed, and in 1932 it was sixteen-and-a-half per cent (i.e. every sixth one) of the 510,000 marriages. In 1956 (478,000 marriages) and 1957 (483,000) more than one-fourth were mixed marriages.

Since in the DDR figures for the religious affiliations in new marriages are no longer published, one can only make an estimate of how many of the Protestant-Roman Catholic couples were united at Protestant altars. According to Protestant and Roman Catholic church statistics about 30 per cent of the marriages between a Protestant and a Roman Catholic are not consecrated in a church, and about 35 to 40 per cent are consecrated in a Protestant ceremony.

In the individual territorial churches a fifth to almost a third of the weddings unite persons of different faiths. The percentage of such weddings, in comparison to the total number of all Protestant weddings from 1900 to 1950, has increased in all territorial churches.

What the Statistics do not Say

In spite of repeated assertions to the contrary, German divorce statistics do not indicate that mixed marriages are more likely to end in divorce than are those where the partners are of the same faith. Here again big city mores evidently assert themselves. One cannot maintain either that Protestant or mixed marriages are more likely to end in divorce than are Roman Catholic unions. There are not as many of the latter in big cities; in addition, for Roman Catholic couples divorce is forbidden. The situations are therefore not comparable.

Similarly, the number of children a couple has is apparently dependent much more upon the type of community and the particular occupation than upon membership in a church or a difference in the faith of the marriage partners.

These reflections upon the statistics lead to the conclusion that the mixed marriage is not a passing phenomenon, since it is the effect of our ever changing modern environment which has called it forth. Despite constant efforts to exercise an influence on its members in this respect, the church has not been able to arrest the development.

Germany

Integrating Asian and African Students

One of the oldest and most important forms of cultural contact is education abroad. The exchange between the ancient universities of Europe, represented by the figure of the wandering scholar, has left its imprint on the spiritual and intellectual topography of a large section of the globe. In our time the exchange between students of various European countries has diminished in significance in relation to contact with the underdeveloped countries of Asia and Africa. And whereas not long ago the United States, England and France were the most important countries for study, in recent years the Federal Republic of Germany has come markedly to the fore as host country for foreign students and trainees: in 1950 about 2000 foreigners were studying in West Germany; by 1958 the number had risen to around 18,000. In addition there were an estimated 6000 to 8000 industrial trainees. Over half of these foreign students come from underdeveloped countries,* and this percentage is rising annually.

This unexpectedly heavy influx can be traced partly to the political situation: Germany, unburdened by colonial ambitions, and a former enemy of the old colonial powers, appears to be particularly inviting. In addition there is Germany's reputation as the land of "economic miracle"—a reputation exaggerated to fabulous proportions in Asia and Africa—her traditional reputation for scholarship and the fact that the absence of special entrance examinations and the relatively low cost of living make study easier.

In comparison with other host countries such as the United States, Switzerland or France, the present average proportion of foreign students at colleges and universities—10 per cent of the student bodies—does not seem very high. Nevertheless, difficulties arise from their concentration at a few universities which are popular with foreigners (Munich, Mainz, Heidelberg, Bonn), and from the particularly severe shortage of space at schools of technology and medicine, in which the enrollment of Asians and Africans is especially heavy. Of much greater importance, however, is the question to what extent the people of cities where there are universities or colleges are prepared, after the long period

of international isolation under National Socialism, to open their hearts and their doors to welcome foreigners, in particular colored students; and to what extent the German student is prepared and in a position to make contact with them.

In recent years it has become increasingly clear that in the area both of education and personal contact foreign students as well as trainees in industry encounter a number of difficulties in adapting themselves to the German environment. These seemed particularly severe in the case of students and trainees from Asia and Africa. In order to investigate these difficulties more closely and to be able to give advice and suggestions to the organizations which had been established as a substitute for the individual hospitality and help which was lacking, a socio-psychological study was made by the Institute of Psychology of the University of Hamburg with the support of the Office of Foreign Affairs of the Federal Republic. The study consisted of intensive questioning of 277 foreign students and trainees from six countries (India, Iran, Greece, Indonesia, Ghana and a western European control group), a series of interviews with landladies, employers or teachers, persons who look after the welfare of foreign students and those responsible for such matters in the German embassies abroad and in foreign embassies in Germany. The findings of a large number of similar studies in the United States, and two in Britain, were drawn upon as a means of comparison. Here we can report on only a small portion of the findings of the study.

Problems as Students

The foreign student comes in the first place in order to learn and to return home with a diploma in his pocket. Without his final examination and his diploma, which should help him rise in the social scale and find a good job upon return, his journey would be in vain. But for the most part he has underestimated the length of time necessary for study, and in addition scholarships are frequently given for only one or two years. Who is to finance the rest of his period of study? This is where his anxiety begins. It is increased by the fact that in the German academic system intermediate examinations are rare and counseling of students is very limited. The "academic freedom" which the older candidate for a doctor's degree views as the great advantage of the German system

* Turkey and Greece are included in this category here.

thus becomes a labyrinth of fears for the young beginner, who for the most part is accustomed in his home country to the completely different Anglo-Saxon system.

This uncertainty would be easier to bear if a communal student life were to give the young foreigner the feeling of being welcome and accepted. Anyone who is familiar in his homeland with a warm and spontaneous student life will be at first disappointed, and even hurt, in Germany. The competitive mentality and aloofness among German students on the one hand, and the stiff and formal role of the German professor on the other, appear to many Asians and Africans as personal rejection, conceitedness and racial pride.

In time these difficulties can be overcome. The person who does not make friends with a German withdraws into the circle of his fellow-countrymen and finds advice and help there. But the question of applying at home what he has learned in Germany remains unsolved. Can a German education be put to use in the other cultural milieu and under non-German technological conditions? Is it perhaps too specialized? Or is it precisely specialized training that is lacking? What effect does the long stay abroad have on attitudes and behavior? Does it perhaps lead to estrangement from home? Unfortunately we know as yet far too little of the answers.

Unexpected Difficulties

In his leisure time the young Asian or African finds himself cast in the role of a guest and tourist. As such he must adapt himself to the manner of life of the host country, learn its language, eat its meals, find himself lodging. Since many of the young guests from underdeveloped countries have already received a European-style upbringing and have experience in foreign travel, and since on the other hand the way of life in our large cities is easily picked up and contains relatively little compulsion toward conformity, adaptation often comes more easily than one would expect. The greatest difficulty in the first few months is found in learning the language and looking for a room. Colored students have to go through the experience of discovering that they must pay a higher rent than German students, as a compensation, so to speak, for the risk which the landlady runs of getting a bad

name among her neighbors. The climate and food are a special problem for some national groups. Others, by reason of their temperament and their hospitable nature, are unable to live in peace with their landladies. A further area of particularly painful misunderstandings is that of contact with German girls. The different cultural norms of what is permissible (which are undergoing considerable change in Germany and therefore make it difficult to become oriented), the interpretation of gestures, words, symbols—all this is difficult to learn, for after all one does not talk about them. Colored students in particular are seldom in a position to develop normal friendships with girls; many have the feeling that it is possible to have access only to "second-class" girls.

All this would be easier to bear if the student were prepared for it and if the cause of the difficulties could be explained to him. But the expectations with which the young African or Indian travels to Germany are much too positive and exaggerated. Since little information about Germany is disseminated by the radio, press, books and schools in the underdeveloped countries, the person traveling to Germany relies on the accounts of his relatives and friends who knew Germany in the period of the Kaiser or the Hitler era. The impression he receives is correspondingly false. He expects above all to be welcomed with open arms, to make many friends and to come to a country which has no racial discrimination. Then one disappointment follows another. For those who come from young nations with a keen interest in politics and a determination to move forward, it must be a sobering experience to come up against the political indifference and the profound ignorance of foreign politics in the host country. Only rarely do they find a friend who is in a position to make the social and cultural presuppositions of this situation intelligible to them and thus to prevent them from returning home full of prejudices. That members of Christian minorities are especially disappointed and confused by the lack of brotherliness in a "Christian country" may be mentioned just in passing.

The Unofficial Ambassador

In the midst of a relatively indifferent and misinformed environment the student from Asia or Africa is forced quite naturally into the role of censor. He has to discover, for

example, that the German conception of Africa is based on stereotyped ideas: "Hagenbeck's parade of peoples from around the world," e.g., or the Negro on a well-known German candy wrapper, or the story of the "Ten Little Niggers," or the "poor little mission child." And this picture of the "exotic and uncivilized" clearly bears the stamp of inferiority. A young student from Ghana said in this connection: "If naked women appear in a German film it is banned to young people. But if naked women of my race are shown here in a film, it is a 'documentary film' and beneficial for young people. As long as you measure with this double standard we cannot become your friends." The state can spend millions on the welfare of foreign students, but their hearts will not be won until the Germans have learned to revise their thinking on this subject. The university and the school, and in particular the teachers' colleges, have to face the question of what they propose to do to solve this problem.

It can be only too easily understood that the foreign student or trainee from an underdeveloped country has a specially sensitive reaction when certain questions or subjects are broached which involve discrimination against him, and that he develops defensive reactions in his arguments and his behavior which are completely unintelligible to his German opposite number and can only be explained as a psychological defense mechanism. Part of the mechanism is the one-sided condemnation of the host's weaknesses, illogical criticism of his foreign policy, and so on.

Even where the student meets with an understanding and broadminded welcome—and the number of such satisfactory contacts is happily large—we must accustom ourselves to the fact that he looks at the country where he is staying through the spectacles of the values prevailing in his home country. We must get used to the fact that he must form a low opinion of the lax family life, the fate of the lonely aged, the greed for consumer goods and the competitive attitude prevalent in Germany, and that he learns only very slowly to understand the laws of development of an industrial society and to see things also from the German point of view. But only then will he be capable of properly interpreting to his fellow-countrymen at home the behavior and the political measures of his former host country and of contributing toward real international "understanding."

If in addition it has been possible to maintain contact with him and thus to give him the opportunity of returning to ask further questions and to obtain first-hand information, then the most important prerequisite for his role as a "mediator of culture" is fulfilled. Unfortunately far too little attention is being paid to the problem of building up and cultivating permanent contacts with underdeveloped countries through students and trainees who have returned home. Sponsorships and partnerships, underwritten by professional organizations or institutions—by or between individual institutes, unions, etc.—would be the best way to do this. This is one of the great tasks facing us in the future.

DIETER DANCKWORTT

Sweden

More about the Ordination of Women Controversy

As the year 1959 begins the Church of Sweden is shaken by serious dissension. Last September the church assembly voted to accept women into the ministry of the church. Opponents of the decision, headed by Bishop Bo Giertz, second vice-president of the Lutheran World Federation, are working to make the decision ineffective. A real schism may occur if women are actually ordained. How is it possible that in Sweden, the country of ecumenical pioneers and leaders, we have arrived at this tragic prospect?

I

The background of the controversy has been given in an earlier article in the *Lutheran World* (IV, 4, March, 1958) written at the end of 1957. At that time the general church assembly of 1957 had vetoed a government bill opening the ministry to women. This veto was followed by a storm of public protest. How was it possible that a church which proclaimed the equal value of men and women and accepted equality of men and women in

all parts of society and in the governing bodies of the church could deny this principle when it came to its ministry? A gulf between clergy and lay thinking had become evident in the assembly, the clergy with one single exception voting against the bill and the majority of lay delegates in favor of it. Among the bishops, all of whom voted no, three were definitely against ordination of women and the other ten were undecided. One of them, Bishop Borgenstierna, made up his mind soon after the assembly and became the first among the bishops to support the bill. Since they were divided among themselves, the bishops stressed the need, expressed by the assembly, to have more time to study the problems which the bill involved; and they addressed themselves to the World Council of Churches and the Lutheran World Federation in order to get information from other churches on the subject.

Government Pressure

That was the situation at the end of 1957. The year 1958 began with the government's making it clear that not much time would be given to the church for further study of the matter. The cabinet minister of church affairs said that a grant of additional time by the government would not help; parliament had waited long enough (the first suggestion to open the ministry to women came in 1923) and would now press the issue. The storm of public opinion after the assembly of 1957 had made it evident that the negative decision was not representative of the church, which is formally almost identical with the Swedish people.

In February the bishops solicited responses from a large number of Christian and secular organizations on theoretical and practical problems involved in the possible use of women in the ministry. The answers, which poured in during the spring, reflected public opinion, the great majority of them being in favor of ordination.

The answers from the World Council of Churches and the Lutheran World Federation showed that the problem is a controversial one in many countries and churches. Most churches do not believe they can get any direct guidance from the Bible on the matter, the pertinent passages being interpreted very differently. The answers from these inter-church organizations made it clear that the Church of Sweden had to make the decision on its own. As the Church of Sweden is a

Lutheran church, tradition would not be of decisive importance. The Bible being the single authority acknowledged by all, the main problem became a biblical one: Does the Bible say anything that makes it impossible to use women in the ministry?

Pre-assembly Publications

Before the answers from the WCC and the LWF arrived, Dr. and Mrs. Sten Rodhe elaborated the ecumenical aspect of the problem in a book entitled *Män och kvinnor i prästämbetet (Men and Women in the Ministry)*, published last March. As every church is obliged to act on its own in this question, they found it to be the ecumenical task of the Church of Sweden to open the ministry to women. This church can serve as a bridge between churches to the left, which already use women as ministers, and churches to the right, which hesitate to do so. The social situation in Sweden where there is more equality of men and women than perhaps in any other country in the world, makes it natural that the gospel—which is free to use any means at hand—should be preached by women as well as men.

Later in the spring the positive aspects of the ordination of women were elaborated further in the book *Kvinnan, samhället, kyrkan (Women, Society and the Church)*, published by the social commission of the central board of voluntary work of the church (the semi-official *Svenska Kyrkans Diakonistyreelse*). The chairman of this commission was Bishop Hultgren, who later in the year was named to succeed Archbishop Brilioth as the primate of the church on October 1. This 198-page volume, which contained contributions from laymen as well as theologians, was wholly in favor of admitting women to the ministry. Bishop Hultgren thus became the second bishop to support the government bill. In a noteworthy contribution to the volume, Krister Stendahl, Swedish professor of New Testament at Harvard Divinity School, opposed the biblical scholars who in 1951 maintained in a much discussed message that ordination of women is not at all in accord with the message of the Bible. Modern biblical scholarship, said Prof. Stendahl, has accomplished remarkable things in correcting the tendency of liberal theology to read the ideas of our time back into the Bible; and certainly the idea of having women in the ministry was completely opposed to the will

of Paul. But the gospel must be translated into our own situation and we cannot be required to have the same ideas with regard to the relation of men to women, for example, as the apostles did. This work of translation is the task of hermeneutics, not of exegesis. In another article in the same volume the well-known Luther scholar Dr. Ruben Josefson (who was later named to succeed Bishop Hultgren as bishop of Härnösand) explained that this way of reading the Bible—i.e., being bound only by words that directly deal with salvation and being free as regards other apostolic teaching—is the Lutheran way. Other articles dealt with historical, sociological and psychological aspects of the problem.

During the summer two well-known professors from Lund, Gustaf Wingren and Ragnar Bring, published important contributions. In a small volume entitled *Kyrkans ämbete* (*The Ministry of the Church*) Wingren maintained that the ministry of today did not exist in the Bible. It was created by the Reformers. The rules governing it are not of divine origin. Everything that serves the purpose of the gospel may be freely used; there is no need of seeking sanction for it from the Bible. This was directed against those who claimed to find statements and rules in the Bible definitely prohibiting the use of women in the ministry of the church.

Professor Bring's 75-page book, *Bibelns auktoritet och bibelns bruk* (*The Authority and Use of the Bible*), is an explanation of the Lutheran approach to the interpretation of the Bible. Man is, and should always be, judged by the Bible. He does not escape by trying to obey biblical rules. As soon as we pretend to obey such we place ourselves above the Bible instead of being judged by it. Consequently there is no possibility of finding permanent rules in the Bible, for instance on the question of whether women should be admitted to the ministry. The message of the Bible is that we are justified before God not by obeying rules but by faith in the work of Christ. Those who find rules in the Bible against the use of women in the ministry are being influenced by Roman Catholicism and left-wing Protestantism, which are both legalistic in the way they read the Bible. This legalism, appearing in the Church of Sweden in Lutheran guise, accuses the other side of being liberal, but liberal theology had quite another way of reading the Bible, says Bring.

In August a third Lundensian theologian, Folke Holmström, associate professor at the

university and a high school teacher, published a 200-page book entitled *Kvinnliga präster inom svenska kyrkan?* (*Women Pastors in the Church of Sweden?*). In sharp disagreement with Bishop Nygren, Bishop Giertz, Professor Lindroth and other theologians opposing the ministry of women, Holmström argues that Swedish Lutheran tradition definitely favors such a ministry and the "no" vote had other origins than this tradition. Holmström's main argument in favor of ordination of women is that several women had heard the voice of God calling them to the ministry, and a correct theology would not restrict God's speaking to the time of the Bible. God is active even now and in Sweden he is now calling women to the ministry. His church should not oppose him. An example of how the church had opposed the will of God was, according to Holmström, the case of Mrs. Ester Lutteman, the well-known church woman, who in 1921 felt that God had called her to the ministry. Since the church had not permitted her to enter the ministry, she had served the church as a free-lance speaker, but alarmed by high church trends in theology and church life she had left the church after the assembly of 1957.

The opponents of ordination, since they had been victorious in 1957, let the initiative in writing fall to the supporters of ordination and published almost nothing in the spring and summer. Two exceptions were booklets by Professor Hjalmar Lindroth of Uppsala and Bertil Gärtner, associate professor at the same university, which elaborated the theological and exegetical arguments against admitting women to the ministry.

Pastors Change their Minds

Elections for the 1958 session of the church assembly took place in late spring and early summer. While in the summer of 1957 it was almost only the opponents of ordination who had been active in the elections, now the supporters had learned from the other side and were equally active. The result was that the elections reflected the real situation in the country better than the elections of 1957, and those favoring ordination of women were in the great majority among lay delegates. The situation among the clergy was more unsettled, but evidently a landslide was taking place. One pastor after another declared that he had changed his mind and was in favor of ordination. The union of pastors found it

necessary to conduct a new referendum similar to the one of 1957. The results, released at the end of the summer, showed that 92 per cent of the pastors had taken part (as against 75 per cent in 1957) and that those favoring ordination had increased from 12 per cent to 37 per cent, while the opponents had decreased from 86 per cent to 43 per cent. Twenty per cent declared that they had not been able to make up their minds.

Seeing that the assembly would probably accept the government bill, the opposition convened a large rally at Örebro in the middle of the summer. Opponents from various church factions—high church, low church, old church, etc.—found that opposition to the proposal was common to them all and so prepared to take action.

II

The assembly convened at Stockholm on August 30. Since Archbishop Brilioth was sick the whole time, Bishop Ysander was in the chair. According to the rules the assembly at once went into subcommittees. Bishop Hylander became the chairman of the subcommittee that had to deal with the controversial bill. After a couple of weeks, filled with strenuous work for the committee, it released its report. Though unable to attain unity on the central question, the subcommittee reported unity in some preliminaries: (1) Many supporters of ordination, lay as well as clergy, are driven by an honest concern for the possibilities of the church to serve the gospel. (2) The question must be examined in the light of Scripture and the confessions of the church. (3) With Jesus and the New Testament a completely new conception of woman was introduced, and this new conception must be taken into consideration when dealing with the problem of opening the ministry to women.

The third point included such things as a positive appreciation of the emancipation of women in social life. But in spite of this unity the subcommittee had to confess to profound disagreement on the central question of women in the ministry. One position had to be victorious, but the subcommittee stressed that the majority should not have the right to suppress the minority. No bishop should be forced to ordain women against his will. Pastors should have the right to hold a dissenting view on what the Bible and confessions say.

"A command of the Lord..."

Eight members of the subcommittee, a majority, favored the bill. Among the eight were Bishop Hylander (who thus became the third bishop to take a stand in favor of ordination of women) and former cabinet minister Ivar Persson. The eight argued that while the ministry of the church is a divine order, its historical organization is subject to change with changing historical situations. Lutheran tradition makes a sharp distinction between unchangeable tenets regarding salvation (e.g., justification by faith) and changeable regulations intended to serve the gospel of salvation. The majority opinion dismissed arguments derived from the fact that Jesus chose only men as apostles: the apostles had a ministry of their own, ministers of the church represent Christ only as far as they speak and act on behalf of their Master, and they should not re-present him, as an actor might play a part, before the congregation. The majority also dismissed arguments derived from 1 Cor. 14: the words of v. 37 ("what I am writing to you is a command of the Lord") refer to the whole chapter, which calls for order and peace; the words on the silence of women (v. 34) are contemporary application, changeable with changing situations. The divine law, proclaimed by the New Testament, must not be made into a collection of statutory rules, a change which would render invalid the law's complete judgment of man. Consequently Scripture and the Lutheran confessions do not forbid the ministry of women in an age when profound changes in the social situation of women have made it desirable. The problem posed by these social changes is not solved by admitting women to the ministry, however; other forms of service in the church—for men as well as for women—should be created; a richer differentiation of the ministry is badly needed.

The dissenting minority of the subcommittee divided into two groups. One member, Bishop Cullberg, favored a motion proposed by Bishop Nygren. In the assembly of 1957 Bishop Nygren had raised serious theological objections to the reform. Now he proposed a technical compromise: the assembly should recommend to the state that it abolish the legal rules excluding women from the ministry but not accept a church law allowing their ordination. This halfway acceptance would at least postpone the reform a couple of years. The majority of the subcommittee

found a church law inevitable, however: the church had to say yes or no.

Five members of the subcommittee, among them Bishop Giertz and Bishop Malmström, recommended complete rejection of the bill. They argued from 1 Cor. 14. According to the two bishops, v. 37 implies a definite prohibition of women from the ministry. Paul would not have written as he did had he not had a direct word of Christ to support him. Certainly there are in early Christian tradition words of Christ other than those that have been preserved in the New Testament. We can only speculate, however, on why Jesus should have uttered such a command, said the two bishops; perhaps the reason was that "speaking" in the church was so intimately connected with a meal in which the minister had to play the part of Jesus. In any case, it is not permissible to make the validity of a command of the Lord dependent on whether or not it can be derived from certain principles, justification by faith, let us say, or the law of love.

"We cannot all be right"

The debate in the assembly was a long one, like that of 1957. It filled two days, Sept. 26-27. As everyone knew beforehand his own position as well as that of almost every other delegate, the debate was more like a series of declarations than a real discussion.

Many of those already mentioned above had the opportunity of expressing themselves. Speaking in favor of the bill were, among others, Bishop Hylander, Bishop Borgensstierna, Bishop Hultgren, Professor Bring and Dr. Josefson, and against the bill Bishop Giertz, Bishop Nygren (though with much less force than in 1957), Professor Lindroth and Dean Danell. Though many laymen also spoke, the debate was mainly theological. It was sometimes described as a seminary discussion. The government viewpoint was presented by Dr. Ragnar Edenman, the cabinet minister of church affairs.

As it was clear to all that the bill would be accepted, the main interest centered on the plans of the opposition. Archbishop-elect Hultgren, who voted in favor of the bill, believed in the possibilities of preserving the unity of the church. Bishop Giertz said that in the tragic moment when the church was choosing the wrong way he did not want to say anything that would aggravate the church split. He hoped that the gulf between the

two sides might be bridged through further discussions on scriptural interpretation, "with the common goal in the future to create clarity about the truth.... We cannot all of us be right. One opinion is false, and those voting for it act wrongly, against the church of God and the cause of the gospel. My heart's prayer is that God may forgive those of us who act thus, whoever they may be."

Another opposition leader used harsher language. Dean G. A. Danell of Växjö told the assembly that there were three ways open to the opposing minority. First, to say nothing; this possibility he denounced as a betrayal of Christ. Second, to remain in the church as a protesting confessional front. Third, to split the church and organize a Lutheran free church. He predicted that difficulties in following the second way might lead opponents to take the third path.

Passage amid Dissent

After 16 hours of debate the votes showed that 69 delegates were in favor of the bill to open the ministry to women and 29 were against. Two delegates (Bishop Ysander, who was presiding, and the ecumenical consultant Dean Nils Karlström) abstained. The minority voted with Bishop Giertz to reject the bill on biblical grounds. The compromise proposed by Bishop Nygren and supported by Bishops Cullberg and Ljungberg was outvoted with no count being necessary. When faced with the choice between a naked yes or no, Bishop Nygren voted no and Bishops Cullberg and Ljungberg yes. In the end six bishops were in favor of the reform, five against, one abstained and one was absent. Of the five opposing bishops, one, Nygren, was due for retirement immediately after the assembly; he was succeeded by Bishop Bolander, an outspoken friend of the bill. In addition, the absent archbishop, Yngve Brilioth, was also retiring and was succeeded by Bishop Hultgren, who was in turn succeeded by Dr. Josefson. These changes meant that soon after the assembly eight bishops were in favor of ordaining women to the ministry, four were against and one (Ysander) had taken no definite stand.

After the voting 21 delegates, including Bishop Giertz, formulated a resolution which maintained that the decision was incompatible with biblical doctrine. Bishop Nygren, together with four other delegates, formulated

another resolution which maintained that the decision was in line with the false doctrines of the Gnostics and the *Schwärmeister*.

As a consequence of the passage of the bill changes were made in some liturgical formulas, "her" being offered as an alternative to "him" in the ordination rite, for example. Twenty-two delegates, including Bishop Giertz, wanted to reject these changes, finding that a ministry of women is something quite different from the ministry of men, founded on Scripture.

The new law went into effect on January 1, 1959.

III

After the assembly of 1957 rejecting the ordination bill the initiative was seized by the supporters of the bill; after this last assembly it went to the opponents. Seeing in advance what was bound to happen, they had already begun preparations in the summer with the Örebro meeting mentioned above. While the assembly was in session they published a 228-page volume, *Kvinnan och ämbetet enligt skriften och bekännelsen (Women and the Ministry according to the Scriptures and the Confessions)*. The aim of this book was to counter the arguments of the book published in the spring, *Women, Society and the Church*. Among the contributors were Bishop Giertz, Professor Bo Reicke of Basel, Professor Hjalmar Lindroth and Associate Professors Bertil Gärtner and Åke Ström of Uppsala. (At present the main theological support of the ordination of women is coming from Lund, from men like Ragnar Bring and Gustaf Wingren, while the main theological opposition is coming from Uppsala, from men like Hjalmar Lindroth and Bertil Gärtner.) The weightiest article in the volume was that by Bishop Giertz, which took issue with arguments in the earlier volume by Ruben Josefson and Krister Stendahl.

In the fall Bishop Giertz also published *23 teser om Skriften, kvinnan och prästämbetet (Twenty-three Theses on Scripture, Woman and the Ministry)*, a booklet virtually written already in the spring for the discussions in the council of bishops. In newspapers Giertz also stated his position again and again. He agreed with Krister Stendahl's accusation that the opponents of the reform "played at being Semites from the first century" instead of translating the gospel for our own day, but he maintained that this was the right way

to obey the Bible. The words of the Bible should be obeyed directly, without any "hermeneutic" interpretation dependent on changed historical circumstances interposed. Scripture is above history. If Paul commanded his congregations not to use women as ministers, this rule should be obeyed in all times. This is the Lutheran way of reading the Bible, Giertz maintained, calling the historical interpretation "neo-Protestant."

Formation of a Confessional Front

The peak of the activity of the opponents in the fall was a crowded meeting at Uppsala in November. The meeting was likened by some to the famous Uppsala meeting of 1593 when Lutheranism was proclaimed to be the doctrine of all Swedes in opposition to Roman Catholicism and Calvinism. According to those gathered at Uppsala Lutheran doctrine must again be defended and proclaimed, this time in opposition to "neo-Protestantism" and "liberalism." A new organization was created called *Kyrklig samling kring bibeln och bekännelsen* ("Church Rally round the Bible and the Confessions") with Bishop Giertz as its leader. Its aim is to preserve true biblical and Lutheran doctrine. One means to this end would be to call conferences similar to the Uppsala meeting. Another would be publications opposed to the semi-official popular church magazine *Vår Kyrka* and the semi-official pastors' weekly *Svensk Kyrkotidning*. To oppose the latter a new paper was to be created, *Svensk Pastoralidskrift*, and to oppose the former an existing magazine, *Kyrka och folk*, was to be enlarged.

At the Uppsala meeting and in the new organization the harsh language of Dean Danell in the assembly debate prevailed over the more humble words employed by Bishop Giertz in that debate. The new organization was to be a fighting front, and the tragic split was called a holy split. Truth must be intolerant and merciless, said Dean Danell. The assembly of 1957 was regarded as right while the assembly of 1958 was wrong and not to be followed.

The decisions of the Uppsala meeting were sharply opposed by Bishop Borgenstierna in an open letter to a newspaper. He denied the right of the new organization to call itself, presumptuously and monopolistically, a rally round the Bible and the confessions. He and other friends of the reform were

equally eager to follow the Bible and confessions. Bishop Borgenstierna further demanded that the controversies should be openly discussed in existing assemblies and organizations, and he deplored the sectarian spirit of the front in arranging meetings only of those of the "right" opinion. In a joint reply Bishop Giertz and Dean Danell flatly rejected the proposals of Bishop Borgenstierna, stating they saw no other way than an open fight.

Other bishops were silent, on the whole. A meeting of the bishops was scheduled for January, 1959. There seemed to be no hope for solidarity and unity for the meeting. But even the bishops willing to ordain women will probably not be too quick to act. As long as no woman is actually ordained, there is more hope for healing the split. The opposition, recognizing this, is at the present moment exerting pressure on the bishops not to ordain, and the bishops are hesitating.

It should be observed that the decision of the assembly was to accept a law making it possible for women to occupy pastoral offices. The act of ordination is not mentioned in the new law, although changes in the ordination formulas were made to make the ordination of women possible. It is accepted, however, that the ordination depends exclusively on the will of the bishop. Every bishop is entitled to act on his own. But usually the bishops try to act in solidarity.

Two Opposing Streams

What is now at stake in the crisis of the Church of Sweden is much more than the question of women in the ministry. The authority of the Bible is at stake, and the Bible being the sole authority of the church this means that the whole understanding of the gospel and the whole self-understanding of the church is at stake. Since the beginning of this century the Church of Sweden has for its self-understanding and its understanding of the gospel followed the lines laid down by men like Nathan Söderblom and Einar Billing. There have been opposing old-church trends, but the main line has been the broad ecumenical conception of the church stemming from Söderblom and the equally broad, and profound, "folk-church" conception stemming from Billing. Historical methods in the interpretation of the Bible have been accepted, and the biblical

message has been emphatically proclaimed as a liberating gospel, not a collection of rules. Men like Gustaf Aulén, Ragnar Bring and Gustaf Wingren have continued the work of Söderblom and Billing, all of them finding support and inspiration in Luther himself, often in contrast to the deviations of Lutheran orthodoxy and pietism.

This stream of thinking is now being countered by a different stream, fed by non-Lutheran sources, which makes itself felt especially in exegetical theology. This high-church trend allies itself with an old-church Lutheranism, which has its origins in Lutheran orthodoxy and pietism and which has consistently opposed the other stream of theology. This alliance, which has organized itself into the "Church Rally round the Bible and the Confessions," derides the folk-church conception, maintaining that it substitutes folk for church, and it derides tolerant ecumenicity as implying faithlessness to the truth. What has here been depicted as the mainstream of Swedish theology is rejected as unbiblical liberalism.

Thus this mainstream of Swedish Lutheranism is now being tested. Firm in their faith, the ardent aggressors run the risk of substituting a legalistic sect for the true church of Christ. On the other hand the defenders run the risk of substituting the laws of modern society for the gospel. Both sides have to see that the gospel is bound neither by biblical rules nor by the rules of society. The question is whether the two factions—one seeing the main danger in conforming to society and the other in the transforming of the gospel into biblical legalism—organize into separate churches. Or will they live side by side with one another, as in Norway since the beginning of the century when the old-church trend, with origins in Lutheran orthodoxy and pietism, created a seminary of its own in Oslo in opposition to a historical interpretation of the Bible? Or will it be possible to reach a deeper unity, to reach health after the crisis? Will it be possible to demonstrate that in Christ we are nevertheless one, even though we differ profoundly in our interpretations of his message? If the sin of division cannot be avoided, the power of the gospel in Sweden will be greatly weakened. Christ prayed that his disciples should be one in order that the world might believe.

Liberia

A Different Policy on Polygamy

Following is the official statement regarding polygamy made by the Evangelical Lutheran Church in Liberia in convention in 1951.

"We affirm that monogamy is God's plan for marriage, that it is the teaching of the New Testament, that it is the ideal relationship for the expression of love between man and woman, and is the proper atmosphere within which to develop a Christian family.

"The entering into a polygamous marriage by a Christian, whether through the normal channels of giving a dowry, or through inheritance or gift, is an offense against the laws of the church.

"However, we find men and women who entered into polygamous unions in ignorance of the Christian gospel and law, but who now express sincere faith in our Lord, manifest the power of the Spirit in their lives and desire to be baptized; yet they find themselves in certain almost unsolvable conditions such as: divorcing the mother of a man's children, the almost impossibility of a woman's leaving her husband, or the breaking up of long established families. Again, we note the New Testament treatment of certain social problems such as slavery, which were not immediately outlawed, but are manifestly unchristian, and were overthrown in time by Christianity.

"In view of such, we therefore recommend:

(a) Christians who enter into polygamous marriage shall be excommunicated.

(b) Where evidence of true faith is shown and upon approval of the District Church Council, parties to an established polygamous marriage may be baptized and confirmed. We affirm, however, that in accordance with St. Paul's teaching (1 Tim. 3:2, 12) no such person, man or woman, shall be permitted to hold office in the church or congregation or be engaged as a Christian worker. Further, no such baptized person shall enter into further polygamous marriage.

(c) No Christian shall be permitted to engage in the common practice of trial

marriage and no candidate shall be baptized who is engaged in trial marriage. However, when the marriage negotiations have progressed to the stage of exchanging the marriage token, this marriage may be considered as a completed one and the candidate shall be led to complete the giving of the dowry as rapidly as possible.

(d) In view of the fact that the families of either party often prevent the full payment of the dowry and thus prevent the completion of the marriage negotiations, if the man and woman are sincere in their desire in becoming man and wife, at the discretion of the pastor and with the approval of the District Church Council, the union shall be recognized as valid and they may be baptized."

The Lutheran Mission in Liberia has been faced with the problem of polygamy especially during the past fifty years, that is, after work had been begun among the tribal people. During this time our mission followed the practice of some other Christian churches in Africa in dealing with polygamy. Women of polygamous households were received into full membership in the church with all the privileges of membership. The male partners were turned away. It was believed that the woman was completely innocent in the matter. She was a victim of circumstances over which she had no control. She could not select her husband. She was given in marriage by her family, sometimes before she was old enough to know anything about it. Once the bargain was made it was difficult for the woman to object. She could divorce her husband only under extreme circumstances. She had to convince her family that he was grossly mistreating her. In this society the family would not be convinced on the mere grounds that the man had another wife. The family is required to return the bride price if the woman leaves the husband; so families are not easily convinced. Furthermore, the woman had only one husband. Therefore, there was no barrier to her becoming a Christian, even though she continued to live in this relationship. The fact that the great majority of these women were never asked if they wanted to leave their husbands and live in the monogamous state was never considered. It was taken for granted by many of the missionaries that they would gladly have separated themselves from the entire system if given an opportunity. Therefore

they were considered quite eligible subjects for baptism and church membership.

On the other hand, men who were parties to a polygamous marriage could not be baptized or become church members. They were considered the guilty parties. They were free to choose whether they would have more than one wife. The missionaries believed that it was possible for them to send their surplus wives back to their families. Therefore, if a man with more than one wife became interested in the gospel and desired baptism he was advised that he must divorce all of his wives save one; then he would be considered.

This was the practice for many years. A man with more than one wife could not be a Christian or church member. All of his wives could be if they so desired, other things being equal.

The African leaders in the department of evangelism were in agreement with this practice. They had been taught from the beginning that polygamy was inconsistent with the Christian way of life. This Western ideal had become a part of their Christian consciences. They were in no position, therefore, to question this long established practice.

Unsatisfactory Solutions

As missionaries worked in the interior and became more familiar with tribal customs some of them became less satisfied with this solution. They found that the man was as tightly bound by the conditions of his society as was the woman. It was as difficult for a man to divorce his women because he wanted to become a Christian as it was for a woman to leave her husband. Some were concerned about divorce. Was it the proper thing to insist that a man must divorce his excess wives in order to become a Christian?

In 1947 the Evangelical Lutheran Church in Liberia was organized. This gave more authority and responsibility to the African leaders. They were very careful of this responsibility and anxious that the young church should get a good start. At its first convention, in 1948, after the organization was completed, polygamy was discussed. There was considerable dissatisfaction with the practice as it was but also a great deal of doubt whether a change should be made, and if so, what sort of change would be satisfactory.

The Africans were all quite familiar with tribal society. They realized how firmly established polygamy was and how it was intertwined with the entire social system. It could not be separated from the system merely by an act of the church. Also, it was easier for them to understand that both the man and the woman were responsible parties to a polygamous marriage and should be treated as such. The following statement was the result of the discussion at this convention:

"The church declares against polygamy as definitely and always unchristian, and that church members shall have no part in it.

"Hereafter we shall neither baptize nor confirm any man or woman who is a party to it.

"All possible encouragement and instruction should be given to those women already admitted to the church with the view that in a reasonable length of time they comply with this policy".

This was not a satisfactory solution. When the pastors and evangelists tried to explain it to the people, and tried to get them to act according to it, they had no success. The Christian women of polygamous households saw no reason for separation. They were content with their lot. Their husbands did not mistreat them. There was no evil of which they could accuse them. Also, there was no future for such women. According to their society they would be considered the guilty parties. Their chances for remarriage would be limited by this fact. There was also the problem of the children. They belonged to the husband. The whole thing encouraged the breaking up of the home instead of strengthening it, as had been hoped. The effect could be just the opposite of that which had been intended. Practically, however, the statement of the church had very little effect. Women did not leave their husbands. Husbands did not divorce their wives.

There was one important result of the statement, however. It prohibited women who were parties to a polygamous marriage from being baptized. This opened up one phase of the subject that had not been studied before. It had been taken for granted by many missionaries that the women were victims of a system which they would change immediately if an opportunity were given. It was hard to believe that Christian women, even when threatened with excommunication, preferred to remain with their polygamous husbands

and that Christian women continued to marry men who already had other wives. They did not feel they were suffering under a system which they hoped to abolish. They seemed to be perfectly satisfied with the society in which they were living. The church was therefore forced to reconsider its position.

The Committee's Findings

The ministerium of the church appointed a committee of Africans and missionaries to study polygamy in relation to the society of which it is a part. Perhaps in Liberia the problem of polygamy was not what it is in China, or on islands of the Pacific, or in the United States. What did the committee find?

For one thing, that in Liberia polygamy should not be separated from tribal society and dealt with *in vacuo*. It is a recognized marriage relationship. The civil government recognizes and permits it among tribesmen. The marriage to the tenth wife is just as legitimate as is the first. Her position is just as secure. Her standing in the community is just as good. There is as much rejoicing at the marriage of the second or third wife as there is at the first.

Second, the tribal people do not look upon marriage as we do in Western civilization. A married woman has no objection to sharing her husband with other wives. One of the virtues of a good wife is to be able to help her husband secure other suitable wives. The first wife is often dissatisfied if her husband does not take other wives. Many of the tribal women prefer to be one of several wives rather than the only wife of the husband.

Third, the man in tribal society is likewise bound by social customs and conditions. He is not free to divorce a wife after he has legally taken her unless she is guilty of some misdemeanor or if she fails to bear children. As long as she does her duty in the family and bears him children he cannot honorably put her away. Furthermore divorce is also considered a disgrace for the woman. Then there is the problem of the children. Legally they belong to the husband, but the mother must take care of them, especially while they are young. Every man wants children. He does not want to put away a wife who bears him children and takes care of them.

While the problem was being studied in Liberia, some missionaries on furlough were investigating it from other viewpoints. What

had the church done during its early history in Africa? What was the practice of other missions? By what authority could the church refuse baptism to men and women who were believers merely because they were parties to a polygamous marriage?

The 1951 statement is the result of the deliberations of the church after it had heard the reports of these studies.

A Help or a Hindrance?

How has the adoption of the new policy affected the church in Liberia? Has it hindered or helped the church in its witness? Can a man with more than one wife be a Christian and an effective member of the church? These and other questions have been answered to the satisfaction of many in our church. In 1957 a committee of the ministerium was appointed to "bring in a written report showing the results of the baptism of polygamists since the action concerning polygamy taken by the church in convention in 1951." Following is the report of that committee:

- "(1) Most of our male Christians have only one wife or are unmarried.
- "(2) The three congregations in and near Monrovia report no polygamist Christians.
- "(3) There is no evidence that potential Christians are waiting until they have a full complement of wives before being baptized.
- "(4) Polygamists are not entering the church in great numbers. However, some pastors believe that in areas newly opened by the church polygamous Christians will enter in greater numbers.
- "(5) There is a difference of opinion as to which group—polygamists, or those with only one wife, or the unmarried—provides a better quality of Christian.
- "(6) The problem of adultery is still with the church and is far more severe than the problem of polygamous Christians who add to the number of their wives.
- "(7) There is much evidence [that there are] faithful and sincere Christians among the polygamists.
- "(8) There is no evidence of the vitality and witness of the church being endangered by the 1951 action concerning polygamy.

"(9) The number of reports as well as the content of those received were not sufficiently conclusive to warrant any change in the church's action concerning polygamy."

This report would indicate that the fears voiced by some in 1951 were unfounded. The church will not be ruined because of this action. Polygamists have not flocked into the church nor brought any undue pressure upon it. The standards of Christians have not been lowered. The church has not lost any of its influence in building the Christian life in the community. The polygamist who seeks church membership is the exception. This is to be deplored but is probably the result of the church's former attitude toward polygamy. It will take time to break down that barrier.

For a Specific Time and Place

This special action of the Evangelical Lutheran Church in Liberia is by no means a perfect statement. It leaves much to be desired. Anyone can find fault with it (including those who prepared it). Its significance lies in the fact that it does permit a polygamist to be baptized and become a member of the Christian church, but it does so very guardedly.

This action is not to be interpreted as in any way a defense of the polygamous way of life. Neither is it suggested that this is a satisfactory solution for the same problem in other parts of the world. Nor is it intended that this should be the final word on this matter. This statement was prepared by this church to meet a special situation at this particular time in its history. It is the attempt of this church to open the way for baptism and church membership to a certain group of believers to whom it had formerly closed the doors.

Some who read this report will very probably conclude that we are making much of a small matter. It might have been better if polygamy had not been recognized as a problem. Is it not our business to offer the gospel to the people in the state in which we find them (1 Cor. 7:17-24)? Is there any valid reason why a man with more than one wife, or a woman married to a man with other wives, cannot believe in the Lord Jesus Christ and become a good member of the Christian church? The problem has arisen not because of any law of God, but because of our adherence to the ideals of our Western

civilization; not because the gospel is not effective in the life of a polygamist but because some of us who are members of the church feel that a polygamist cannot be a Christian.

The Board of Foreign Missions of the United Lutheran Church in America has prepared a statement of policy with respect to relationships with the younger churches with which it is associated. Part of that statement bears on our subject. It reads, "The aim of evangelism is not to denationalize persons nor to deny the values of the society in which they live...." Polygamy is a part of the society in which the Liberian Lutheran church finds itself, just as slavery was part of the society in which the Christian message was first proclaimed. The "sudden abolition [of slavery] would have reduced the Roman Empire to chaos." The New Testament does not condemn slavery, and Paul returned Onesimus to Philemon—but with the words, "Perhaps this is why he was parted from you for a while, that you might have him back for ever, no longer as a slave but more than a slave, as a beloved brother" (vv. 15-16). The Christian leaven did eventually lead to the abolishing of the institution of slavery. The statement of the Board of Foreign Missions goes on to say that the aim of evangelism is "by the grace of God and the power of His Holy Spirit to transform men and through them their society."

We are in the midst of rapid social and economic change not only in Liberia, but in other parts of Africa as well. Perhaps these changes will be such that the practice of polygamy will become untenable. Until that happens, if it does, perhaps the church will be patient and accept people as they are, in their society, and permit the transforming power of the Holy Spirit to do its work in them and in their society, as it has in others.

HARVEY J. CURRENS

Untangled Loma

In 1941 Wesley Sadler, author of the following article, began his work as a missionary among the Loma people in interior Liberia, West Africa. He subsequently reduced their language to writing, inaugurated an adult literacy program, and, knowing that people who can read should have a regular supply of reading

matter, began producing, with the help of his Loma staff, books, booklets, and a newspaper in the Loma language. He also translated part of the New Testament into Loma.

At present he is on furlough in the US. In March, 1959, he will return to Africa as director of a writing and literacy center to be located at Kitwe, Northern Rhodesia. He will be on loan from the United Lutheran Church in America to direct this work under the Committee on World Literacy and Christian Literature, a committee of the Department of Foreign Missions of the US National Council of Churches.

The purpose of the writing-literacy center is to assist Africans and others to write for Africans in Africa, to offer training in setting up literacy programs and to give aid in solving problems in language analysis.

Dr. Sadler's work covers four fields: linguistics, language-learning, literature (reading material for Africans), and literacy (teaching adult Africans to read). Here he writes on one of these phases, language-learning.

THE EDITOR

One of the most productive pieces of advice I received during my premissionary days was given to me by a leading missionary-linguist-anthropologist. He said: "Do not call yourself a missionary until you can speak the language of the people with whom you work." Most missionaries have no argument with that, for they realize the inadequacies of communicating through an interpreter or, what is almost as bad, the lingua franca.

My own experience in using an interpreter among the Loma people in interior Liberia nearly put an end to my missionary career. Just how often I put an end to some African's interest in the Christian message I do not know. The situation, in my eyes, was tragic. On one occasion during my first term among the Loma people I was called to the home of an old Christian woman whose two adult sons, both non-Christian, had suddenly died. She needed a pastor in the worst kind of way. I went to her at once, accompanied by an interpreter. I talked with her through the interpreter. I also prayed with her, again using the interpreter. The woman's need had moved me deeply, but the interpreter was only mildly interested. God heard my words, I know, but to the woman the words, coming as they did by way of the interpreter,

were flat and unconvincing. I left that home a rank failure.

"Spiritual Nonconductors"

During my second term of service in Liberia, when I had been assigned to reduce the Loma language to writing and, during the process, learned to speak that language, I was in a position to develop an even lower opinion of interpreters. They were, as Dr. Edwin W. Smith said, "spiritual nonconductors." I heard one Lutheran pastor, a young American who was an outstanding preacher, deliver, in English, a moving message on the resurrection, pausing every fifty words or so for an African to translate for him. The result was a message stripped of most of its beauty and of some of its accuracy and received by a restless, unconvinced audience. (It is interesting to note that the interpreter was a fine Christian and an excellent preacher when holding forth on his own.)

My use of the lingua franca, English, during my first term of service among the Loma people was exasperating, frustrating and defeating. English is the language required in all formal education and the one I was forced to employ in instructing my corps of evangelists. I spent days in preparation for my monthly meetings with them and for my visits to their towns. I found that though they used the English terms for salvation, redemption, etc., with ease, they could not properly translate them into their own language. Though I strove for great simplicity and patience in my teaching, I often failed to reach them.

During the last months of that first term I wrote a hygiene book in English to be used by those who had had at least four years of formal education. It was at least a 60 per cent failure, for no student scored higher than 40 per cent when tested on its content. Two terms later, when our Loma language literature-literacy program was in operation, we translated the same book into Loma. In the reader's native tongue it was understood and proved instrumental in preventing misery and in saving lives. Also during the third term of service I employed the help of an intelligent Loma Christian man in translating, from English, Luther's *Small Catechism*. This assistant had had nine years of formal education. I soon discovered, however, that he had very little understanding of what that tiny book was trying to say, and it took us several weeks to translate it into his language.

My experiences in East Africa have led me to believe that even when the *lingua franca* is a less foreign one than English—Swahili, for example—it is often an inadequate means of communicating the gospel. Every missionary with whom I discussed this was emphatic in saying that the vernacular provided the best, and sometimes the only, Christian approach. They held that this was especially true among African women and with men who did not regularly frequent the large towns.

Where to Begin?

The answer to the frustration and inadequacies of using an interpreter or the *lingua franca* is a good language-learning program. Such a program begins with a thorough and scientific analysis of the language to be studied. Unfortunately there is a great lack of such in Africa. A frequent error found in the existing material is a misrepresentation of the number of vowels in the language, either by omitting one or more of them or by including several that are merely variations of basic vowels. Consonants are misrepresented chiefly by omission. The author of one fairly good textbook of a West African language omitted an implosive *b* in his analysis, which left the language as crippled as English would be if we omitted *b* and left *p* to do the work of both *p* and *b*.

Vowel length is a neglected feature in the analysis of many African languages. This is partly due, I believe, to the variations of vowel length used by speakers native to that language, leading the one analyzing the language to believe that vowel length is a free variant and need not be indicated in speech or writing. In Loma, for example, *ga*, "I," becomes *gaa* before all voiced consonants, while before voiceless ones it is *ga*. The procedure here, of course, is to employ *ga* or *gaa* in speech, the length of the vowel depending upon the nature of the following consonant, but to always use its phonemic form, *ga*, in writing, with an explanation added for the language student to show when the long or short vowel is to be used. Where vowel length is an integral part of the word, however, it must always be indicated. For example, *kali*, in Loma, is "hoe," *kaali* is "snake." Both words must be spoken and written as shown here or the meaning of the sentence in which they occur will be obscured.

The analysis of tone is undoubtedly the chief sufferer in the analysis of many African languages. Indeed, in many cases it is neglected altogether. One of the best books showing an analysis of an East African language devotes one paragraph to the tonal system of that language, simply mentioning that the language is tonal, that it is difficult to grasp and that a speaker of that language cannot be understood unless he observes its tonal pattern in his speech. That is all. It is never mentioned again. Loma, like most languages south of the Sahara, is tonal, and a misuse or neglect of tone will result in misunderstanding and some very undignified situations. The Loma word *dowa*, for example, said with two high tones, means "beat him." The same word with two low tones means "beat me." Imagine the trouble a speaker could get himself into with *nazai*, which means "his wife" when said with two high tones, and "my wife" when said with a low tone followed by a high one.

Experience has shown that the language analysis should be done by a trained linguist, or at least by someone who has had training in the science of linguistics and who has recourse to the advice and help of a linguist before his material is put to use. In addition to the obstacles a poor analysis creates for everyone trying to learn to speak the language, it provides a very effective stopper to any literacy program among the people native to that language.

What Makes a Language Book Good?

When the analysis has been completed, the next step is to incorporate it into a language-learning textbook, omitting no phase of the analysis but withstanding the temptation to put everything in the first lesson. The goal of such a book is to enable the student to secure a speaking mastery of the language; the immediate goal is to have him speaking after he has completed his first day of study.

There are some good language-study books in Africa, but they are few. Many of them are incomplete. On one occasion in French West Africa I found students using material that was pamphlet-thin. In several parts of East Africa I came across texts that were dull, loaded with technical terms, and lacking illustrative material to enable the student to apply, in his daily living, the grammar and vocabulary that these texts embraced. One missionary student in West Africa told me

that after studying for five weeks she was still unable to converse in the vernacular, for the text she was using devoted the first hundred pages or so solely to discussion on and exercises in pronunciation. Her exclamation was, "I want to go out and use this language that I have been studying all this time!"

Our textbook, *Untangled Loma*, employs not more than a half a dozen technical terms, all illustrated. It contains twenty-one chapters, with chapters seven, fourteen and twenty-one serving as examinations. Each of the eighteen chapters devoted to lessons is arranged as follows: basic sentences, discussion, exercises and testing.

The basic sentences are in conversational form for use by the student and his "informant." The subject matter is one the student can employ in his daily living. The basic sentences in the first lesson are devoted to activities in the kitchen; the second, to the house. Other basic sentences prepare the student for activities in the market, on the farm, with the laborers, travel, etc. All the situations are practical ones. (What can be more practical than telling the cook what you want for breakfast or making purchases in the market?)

The discussion is concerned with a gradual presentation of all the grammar of the Loma language. The subdivisions are pronunciation, formation of words, formation of sentences, and tone. It is in the discussion that the temptation occurs to place everything in the first lesson, for everything is needed for a speaking mastery of the language. Because there are more than thirty Loma pronouns used to do the work of five English ones, we began with pronouns but presented only a few in the first lesson. A second major problem is what we term initial consonant change. By exercising great restraint we did not present everything pertaining to it in the first lesson, where it seemed to belong, but gave seven lessons to discussing it. Tone was handled in the same manner, but because of its difficulty and extensive nature it was discussed in all eighteen lessons.

The exercises, of which there are several hundred for each lesson, review the student on everything he has studied in the current lesson, with some use made, of course, of material in the preceding lessons. The test at the end of each lesson is simple but thorough.

Chapters seven, fourteen and twenty-one are examinations. They are long, difficult and

complete. We do not permit a student to take an examination—or a test, for that matter—until we are sure that he can make a grade of at least 90 on it. The student's regular informant is not used for either the testing or the examining. An outsider is brought in, someone who is not familiar with the student's speech and whose speech is unfamiliar to the student. The first two examinations are oral, requiring two or three hours to complete them. The final is both written and oral and twelve hours or more are given to its completion. The last part of the final examination takes place in the huts of the village in which our language center is located. The examiner and the student stroll about, dropping in to visit our Loma neighbors at random, permitting them to initiate the conversation, the student joining in, proving that he is fluent and at ease in that most difficult of situations, unrehearsed conversation.

Because the student does his work under supervision and because we do not permit him to take a test or examination until we are sure he will make a grade of at least 90 we have never had a student fail.

In a Village

The informants in our Loma language-learning program are young men (only rarely have we used women) of good character, intelligent, and capable of taking pride in their pupil's progress. None has had any formal education. They are literate in their own language but illiterate in English; very few of them have any speaking knowledge of English. We train the informants carefully, making sure to caution them that they are never to permit the student to get by with faulty speech. They are under careful supervision, for we know their tendency to become lax, a condition due mainly to the repetitious nature of their work and to their reluctance to correct the missionary when he is not speaking correctly.

We use one informant for each student, making it possible for the student to move at the speed best suited to him. This arrangement also makes for better work on the part of the informant, for his attention is undivided.

I have indicated that our Loma language center is in a small village. Its location there is deliberate: to place the language student in an environment that is highly conducive to language learning, a condition that I have

never found on a mission compound. The student of Loma has about 400 Loma neighbors who are interested in his progress. One of the classrooms is a small round thatched hut given to us by a chief of the village. Two paths to the river pass this hut and Africans frequently drop in to chat with the student and to note his progress. A room off my study, which is a nearby house also given to us by the chief, serves as another place of study.

Another advantage in having a language center in such an indigenous setting is that it gives the student an opportunity to live in close contact with the people with whom he is preparing to live and work. He associates with them as neighbor, watching them at work, exchanging visits, participating in their conversations, gaining contacts and knowledge that will help him in his ministry when his period of language-study is over. Of almost equal importance is the opportunity it gives the African to observe, at first hand, the student, who will some day play an important part in his life.

How it Works

All language-learning programs progress more satisfactorily when they are under the supervision of a trained linguist or under one who has successfully completed an organized course of study of an African language. I am in charge of the language program of our church in Liberia. The assignment takes only a minor portion of my time (now that we have a textbook available, an organized program and housing for students). On the evening of the student's first day at our language center I remind him that he has only one responsibility, to wit, learn the language of the people with whom he will live and work. I inform him that he is required to spend six hours a day with his informant for five and one-half days a week. If he wants to take time off, he may, but the time must be made up. (He does not make up time lost because of illness.) There are only two holidays: July 26, Liberia's Independence Day, and Christmas. I point out that I shall visit him at least twice a day during the early stage of his language study, but that I am available whenever he wants me. I then hand him a copy of our textbook, *Untangled Loma*, and introduce him to his informant. All students have started their study the following day.

We have found that unsupervised students make two major mistakes. First, they fail to use the language as they learn it, saving it, I presume, for some golden day when they will break forth with a perfect use of it and make it thenceforth their only means of communication. The result, of course, is that they never get beyond a halting use of the language.

This fault is due chiefly to the fear of making a mistake and being misunderstood or laughed at. Our informants can always tell when the student is speaking incorrectly and, as I have indicated, are trained not to permit him to get by with faulty speech. But it is a rare informant—I have met only a few—who can pinpoint the error the student is making in pronunciation. This is not surprising, for very often a simple two-syllable word will provide four or more difficulties. The student may pronounce a difficult consonant (implosive *b*, for example) properly, as well as the vowels (long vowel, say, or vowels that result from assimilation) and place nasalization on the proper syllable, but fail to reproduce the tone correctly, the result being a mispronounced word that Loma people not familiar with the student's speech would be unable to understand. A linguist, on the other hand, would be able to spot the student's difficulty at once and aid him in correcting his error.

Some of our students have said that Loma syntax bears little or no relation to any language they know, and they frequently persist in errors that prove their point and lead to frustration. The linguist, on one of his visits to the student, will note this and point out the rule in grammar that the student is violating. My policy is that after such a session I return to my study and make thirty or forty practice slips pointing up the proper use of the word, phrase or clause that the student is finding difficult and give them to him to use. The results have been satisfactory.

Once the student has confidence that he is handling the language properly with his informant—a good start can be made in this on the first day—he shows little hesitation in using it. We help this along by sending Loma members of our writing staff to converse with him. We also secure the aid of Loma neighbors who have shown ability to converse with the student within his vocabulary range.

The second major mistake that unsupervised students make is to go too fast, going to

lesson three, say, before satisfactorily completing lessons one and two, thus piling up incompleteness that always leads to failure. Several years ago I was in charge of examining students who were studying another language in another part of Liberia. They were assigned to study on a mission compound and they were unsupervised. None of them did satisfactorily. On one occasion I stopped examinations before they were completed, the students were doing so poorly. One unsupervised student who had completed the first twelve lessons of a very satisfactory textbook of a West African language was transferred, along with her informant, to our Loma language center to continue her study. I found that she could not use the material in those lessons. There was nothing to do but have her go back to the first lesson and begin again.

This second major mistake is closely related to the first. If the student does not use the material he has studied by conversing with his informant and others, he has no means of judging the effectiveness of his grasp of current and past lessons. Simply knowing the material in the basic sentences, discussion, etc., is not enough: he must employ it in speech in his daily contact with those about him. My experience has been that an unsupervised student fails to do this. He goes on to the next lesson before he is fluent with the material in the previous lesson.

No Boredom

Boredom, I believe, is another reason students working on their own do poorly. It goes without saying that language-study is an exacting task, but it need not be a boring one. Boredom never sets in, for example, when the student finds himself progressing in a spoken use of the language. (There is nothing more stimulating than participating in a conversation in which you understand and are understood.) There are times, however, when many students, even the best, profit by a change in pace or procedure. An experienced linguist, being in daily contact with his student, will be able to determine when that time has arrived and will substitute a temporary program that will be stimulating. The linguist can, for example, provide a change in informants. Or he can send the student and an informant to a neighboring village to study for a week or so, with instructions that the student speak and read only in the

language he is studying. There he will make new contacts and be in situations that will test his grasp of the language. On a few rare occasions I have simply told the student to take a day off.

One change in pace—development is a better word—that we provide is to assign the student to speak at the children's service in our local church. This usually occurs when the student is in his fourth month of study. He knows the assignment is part of his language study, he knows he will face an audience that will attend him with unusual eagerness. He also knows that he will not be assigned to the task until he is ready for it. I usually give the student a week's notice, informing him that he may use notes on what he is going to say but that he may not write his message in full. On the day before his talk is due, his informant and I go over it with him. The following day the student rehearses it with us at least three times. These talks have always been a success. The next step is for the student to speak at the adult services. (Note that his participation in these services is a *part of his language study* and not an assignment in addition to language study.)

No Other Responsibilities

Up to this point I have discussed the preparation that should be made for the missionary student's language-learning program: a scientific analysis of the language, a language-learning textbook, a well-trained informant, and adequate supervision and stimulation. All of this is of little value, however, unless the student is given an opportunity, free from other responsibilities to study the language. We have met many missionaries who were assigned to language study part time, with the result that, as the pressure of mission and church work increased, they spent less and less time studying language. The result usually hovered somewhere around zero. In some areas we have found missionaries who were simply assigned to learn the language during their first term of service. They were on their own to squeeze language study into a full work program. The results were less encouraging than these noted above.

When a missionary is assigned to study Loma, he has only one responsibility: to gain a speaking mastery of the language as quickly as possible. That is usually obtained within a year, but there is no time limit set

upon him. He is not required to serve—or permitted to serve—as a pastor or to take charge of a school, build a house, work in a clinic or hospital, etc. Those of us who work at our language-literature-literacy center prepare a house for him, secure and train his househelp, employ men to keep the grounds

clean around his house and to take care of repairs, etc. I repeat, the language student has only one responsibility—to obtain a speaking mastery of the language as quickly as possible.

And that he does.

WESLEY SADLER

BOOK REVIEWS

Scripture, Faith, and Reason in Luther

FIDES EX AUDITU. *Eine Untersuchung über die Entdeckung der Gerechtigkeit Gottes durch Martin Luther.* By Ernst Bizer. Neukirchen/Moers: Verlag der Buchhandlung des Erziehungsvereins, 1958. 160 pp., DM 14.70.

SCRIPTURA SACRA ET VIVA VOX. *Eine Lutherstudie. (Forschungen zur Geschichte und Lehre des Protestantismus, series 10, no. X)* By H. Østergaard-Nielsen. Munich: Christian Kaiser Verlag, 1957. 215 pp., DM 11.00.

ERNST BIZER is professor of church history in the Protestant faculty of theology in Bonn. His latest book deals with the question of the dating of Luther's "tower experience" and is to that extent a study in church history. But the author also seeks to clarify the theological content of Luther's "reformatory discovery," and the study thus lies also in the field of systematic theology. This double purpose is deliberate: "Luther cannot be understood through systematics alone" (p. 13). The book is a contribution to current discussion on the relation between the young and the old Luther, and as such it is somewhat startling: if Bizer is right, much of the Luther research of the past few decades will have to be revised.

As is well known, Theodosius Harnack asserted already in the 19th century that Luther's view of justification by faith developed out of the indulgence controversy, i.e., about 1518-19, as Luther himself testifies in the preface to his collected works (1545).

According to another view, represented by Karl Holl and others (including the majority of later Luther scholars), the older Luther's own testimony is not wholly reliable: as early as 1512-13, that is to say, his works show so many evangelical tendencies that his "reformatory discovery" must have occurred earlier than he himself states. The exact time is sometimes put somewhat later, but it is generally agreed that it must be put earlier than the indulgence controversy. (The views of various authors on this question are catalogued by Uuras Saarnivaara, *Luther Discovers the Gospel*, 1951 (in Finnish, 1947),

p. 48 f., W. Link, *Das Ringen Luthers um die Freiheit der Theologie von der Philosophie*, 1940, pp. 6-77, A. Gyllenkrok, *Rechtfertigung und Heiligung in der frühen evangelischen Theologie Luthers*, 1952, p. 54 ff., E. G. Rupp, *The Righteousness of God*, 1953, p. 121 ff.)

The positive evaluation of the young Luther has certainly been denied—recently, for example, by Uuras Saarnivaara in *Luther Discovers the Gospel*, which is conditioned by the orthodox picture of Luther. But to a great extent it has become an axiom that the reformatory influence is profound in Luther's earlier writings. (K. A. Meissinger has recently asserted, not without reason, that Luther's reformatory discovery quite simply cannot be dated: *Der katholische Luther*, Munich, 1952, p. 291. Cf. also K. Bauer, *Die Wittenberger Universitätstheologie und die Anfänge der deutschen Reformation*, 1928, p. 150, note 1, where it is asserted—as by Link—that when the discovery occurred is quite irrelevant to the history of the Reformation. Cf. R. Prenter's profound study of the relation between the young and the old Luther in *Spiritus Creator*, Copenhagen, 1946, p. 15.)

In sharp contrast to this "evangelical" picture of the young Luther we now have Bizer's thesis that Luther's "tower experience" first begins to leave its mark on his writings in the spring and summer of 1518, and that the discovery consists in Luther's new "theology of the word," which means that "the proclaimed word" is now regarded as a means of grace alongside the sacraments.

Bizer's is the systematic-exegetical method. He goes carefully through Luther's main writings from the first series of lectures on the Psalms (*Dictata super Psalterium*) of 1513 to the lectures on Galatians of 1519. His main point is that Luther in these "pre-Reformation" writings is governed by the monastic ideal of humility. Man must demonstrate *humilitas* before God's saving action can take place. Man's relation to God is determined by the law. The pious man must pray, "Give me true humility and mortification of my flesh, my own damnation, that my soul may be saved by you" (WA, 3.466.36, *Dictata*, 1513). *Humilitas* is conformity with Christ; it is to stand, as he stood, under God's devastating judgment and let the old Adam be crucified. To the man who recognizes in *humilitas* that he is a sinner

before God and acknowledges that God's judgment is right, to him God grants his grace. If Scripture is interpreted tropologically—i.e. with reference to the individual reader—then the victory of Christ's resurrection also applies *tropologice* to him who is humble (p. 16). Vogelsang's thesis that this view of Christ's victory in our life is the same as that held by the older Luther, is rejected by Bizer. Luther's picture of Christ at this time is still basically Catholic, he says (p. 18 f.).

A comparison of the young Luther's thoughts with those of Staupitz shows that, in this respect, the two have the same basic view (p. 20). The gospel is still understood by Luther primarily as judgment and not as the message of the forgiveness of sins through faith alone. Faith is a man's relationship to himself, accepting God's judgment, and is not regarded as a trust in the promises of God (p. 21).

Bizer rejects here not only Vogelsang's and E. Seeberg's well-known interpretations of Luther, but also von Loewenich's, which tries to show that the young Luther's *theologia crucis* is the starting point of all his theological thinking.

It would take too long to follow Bizer's presentation in detail. It is in many respects acute, and clearly the result of much labour. We must content ourselves with showing how Bizer seeks to determine the date and content of Luther's reformatory "break-through." The great discovery occurred, according to Bizer, between January 15, 1518 and April 5, 1519, and can clearly be seen by comparing the two completely different expositions of the Lord's Prayer, "Exposition and Interpretation of the 'Our Father,' 1518" (WA 9, 122 ff.) and "Exposition in German of the 'Our Father' for Simple Laypeople, 1519" (WA 2, 74 ff.).

The earlier exposition is governed by the thought that man receives grace when he humbles himself, says Bizer. The whole Lord's Prayer, says Luther, is "filled with the cross" and speaks of nothing else (p. 116). In the later exposition ("For Simple Laypeople"), "dying" is certainly emphasized as the beginning of justification, but *iustitia Dei* is not something that flows automatically from man's *mortificatio*. The word is now emphasized, in an altogether new way, as the means God uses to bring his righteousness to men. Previously the word was "a means of meditation," now it is a "means of grace." This new view of the word goes with a new

view of the sacraments. Luther no longer believes they work *ex opere operato*. He now sees as their central point the promise of the words of institution which are bound up with them, and which tell of the forgiveness of sins. This, in its turn, brings an altogether new view of the preached word, which is no longer a means merely to point out the way to righteousness, but a means to awaken faith in Christ; Christ is himself present in the word to bring the forgiveness of sins and to give the righteousness which he himself has fulfilled. "The sacrament is interpreted in terms of the word, and the word itself takes on sacramental character" (p. 160). The starting point for the meaning of the sacraments as well as of preaching is Rom. 1:17; "In [the gospel] the righteousness of God is revealed" (cf. WA 9, 313).

When Luther says in the *Praefatio* of 1545 that he became clear about the meaning of Rom. 1:17, that means, says Bizer, that righteousness is no longer a *fides caritate formata*, but that it exists already with Christ and that the preached gospel is the bearer of it (p. 148). It is this that is new, and that Bizer finds in none of Luther's writings before 1518.

How does Bizer's thesis stand up to an objective examination? In his foreword to the book, Bizer says expressly that he intends to treat only one line of thought in the young Luther's writings, namely, that which deals with *iustitia Dei*. On the other hand, he claims to establish what is the characteristic reformatory element in Luther. There is a covert assumption here that the reformatory element is the same as the new interpretation of *iustitia Dei* in Rom. 1:17, which is, in turn, connected with Luther's new "theology of the word."

Bizer never asks *what* it is that Luther reforms, what the theological content is with which Luther starts. If this question is not made clear from the beginning, the whole discussion of the reformatory element in the young Luther will suffer from an internal lack of clarity. Bizer has not answered this question, and his book, in spite of a presentation that is in other respects clear, labors under this disability. He seems to start with no preconceived ideas, but nevertheless he brings to his description of the young Luther a particular criterion, which, while not openly stated, becomes clear in his judgment of Luther's terminology. This arises partly from his polemic against the young Luther's

theologia crucis and the conclusions he draws because he does not find the mature Luther's theology of the word in it. Bizer never realizes that the question of the reformatory element in Luther is significantly more complicated than that. By opposing the view of *iustitia Dei* to the young Luther's *theologia crucis*, Bizer has in fact gone beyond the framework of his study. He inquires not only after the meaning of *iustitia Dei*, but also after the "reformatory element." He studies the young Luther according to a certain criterion which, it seems to me, is a misunderstanding of the meaning of the reformatory element in Luther. When the young Luther does not accord with this criterion, he is, according to Bizer, not reformatory.

Anyone who has some acquaintance with the young Luther's theology knows that he attempts to interpret the Bible with the aid of scholastic and mystical ideas and questions, but that the discoveries he made in the Bible itself broke through the old formulae and gave them a completely new meaning. The clearest exposition of this is perhaps to be found in Regin Prenter's *Spiritus Creator*. The question of the reformatory element in Luther is not wholly comprehended in the question of his new understanding of *iustitia Dei* gained about 1518. It lies rather in the question of the extent to which he was successful in all his theological thinking in expressing the basic ideas of the Bible and the primitive church. As I see it, from this point of view Luther's thinking on the idea of life and death constitutes a reformatory feature. If one starts from the view that it is a primitive Christian belief that life is won by dying, and that Luther's reformatory achievement was to bring this belief to life, then one cannot overlook the young Luther's *theologia crucis*. It is well known that this idea is especially prominent in the *Heidelberg Disputation* (a work which Bizer ignores). Luther's concentration on the term *iustitia Dei* is undoubtedly clear after 1518, and it is also clear that at that time he came to a new understanding of the meaning of the phrase. If the motif of life and death thus falls into the background (though it never disappears), this is, from the reformatory point of view, a loss. Luther never turns against this particular line of thought, which remains a permanent part of his whole way of thinking. Thoughts about God's dealing with men *sub contraria specie*, already clearly worked out in *Dictata super Psalterium*,

belong just as much to the thinking of the mature Luther as thoughts on *iustitia Dei*, the righteousness of God brought to men in the preaching of the word. Nor can *iustitia Dei* be understood apart from the *theologia crucis*. In both cases Luther begins from God's creating word, in which God deals with men *sub contraria specie* producing a *creatio ex nihilo*.

By addressing a question to church history ("When did the reformatory element come in?") one cannot answer a question of systematic theology ("What is the reformatory element?"). The question of what Luther re-forms must first be asked. This is Bizer's weakness: he has made an error in the systematic field, even while his efforts in the historical field have been successful. He has successfully shown that from 1518 on there is a new element in Luther. But this has rarely been denied (see, e.g., Prenter, *Spiritus Creator*, p. 15). That this new element is a clearer view of the preached word as the bringer of God's righteousness, Bizer has also clearly demonstrated, and this makes his book of permanent value in spite of all its weaknesses.

In the introduction to *Fides ex Auditu* Bizer mentions "the fine book by H. Østergaard-Nielsen." ØSTERGAARD-NIELSEN is a pastor in Viborg, Denmark, and a pupil of Professor Løgstrup at the University of Aarhus, where Østergaard-Nielsen presented this work as a doctoral thesis in dogmatics.

Bizer's and Østergaard-Nielsen's books are clearly independent of each other, but they belong together nonetheless. Both maintain the thesis that Luther's whole approach must be understood from the preached word, the *viva vox*, which dispenses forgiveness of sins and bestows righteousness. And both contrast Luther's mature view of preaching ("theology of the word") with his earlier theology of the cross.

But the difference between the books is also quite clear. Østergaard-Nielsen is not a church historian but a systematician, and the strength of his thesis lies in its concentration upon the systematic side of his task.

The book's starting point is the discussion of the relation between "Scripture" and "oral word" in Luther's theology. The author wishes to show that the contradiction between biblical theology and natural theology which Luther research between the wars seemed to have uncovered does not really exist, if we

rightly interpret Luther's distinction between *scriptura sacra* and *viva vox*.

The book has four chapters. The first states the problem which has arisen because the distinction has not been noticed between Luther's view of the Bible and that derived from the idea of authority in "metaphysical" theology. Luther's view proceeds from the premise that man's relation to God is "personal." In the other view (which Luther attacks) man's relationship with God is conceived of as an "objective" subject-object relationship. The second chapter deals with the difference between "subjective" and "personal" knowledge, and the third investigates the content of "name" and "word" as expressions for the personal character of man's relationship with God. Scripture is conceived by Luther as an historical account and not as a metaphysical document. What that involves for the connection between faith and experience is outlined at the end of the third chapter. The fourth and last chapter bears the title "The Church," and sets the thesis of the book in relation to Luther's understanding of church, ministry and sacraments.

After this overall picture of the book, we can now turn to a more detailed analysis.

For most people today, says Østergaard-Nielsen, the Bible is not a self-evident authority before which they bow. Consequently the modern theologian and preacher believe themselves to be in a less advantageous position than, say, Luther in his day. For Luther and his contemporaries, runs the argument, the authority of the Bible was axiomatic and the question of authority was consequently much less complicated.

This line of reasoning does not hold water, says Østergaard-Nielsen. When Luther maintains that Scripture is in itself perfectly clear and understandable, he is confronted by firm opposition. An illustration of this is Luther's debate with Erasmus on the freedom of the will. Erasmus maintained that Scripture is in itself far from clear, in fact it is obscure and open to different interpretations; hence its truth must be supported by an authority outside of Scripture, namely, the church and tradition. For Luther, however, the authority of Scripture does not lie in the church's ministry nor in a particular tradition of interpretation, but in Scripture itself. Underlying this contention is his belief that Scripture is, in principle, clear and unambiguous. Scripture is not a metaphysical document needing an interpreter with special qualifica-

tions, but a historical account whose authority lies in its agreement with what it seeks to relate. When Karl Barth, for example, locates the basis of the authority of Scripture in religious experience, thus making scriptural interpretation an "ecclesiastical science," he stands in principle in the same position as Erasmus when he located the authority of Scripture outside Scripture. Both work with a "metaphysical" conception of theology, and for both of them Scripture is in principle something different from the rest of observable reality. The key to the understanding of Luther's theology as a whole lies in his rejection of the traditional grounds for the authority of Scripture. With this rejection goes also the rejection of the metaphysical conception of theology, in which man's relation to God is conceived—in a way analogous to the scientific approach—as a relation between subject and object (p. 210). A personal relationship is built on mutual understanding and trust, whereas a subject-object relationship presupposes that the subject is neutral and unaffected by the object.

Luther's hermeneutics and his anthropology therefore hang together, says the author. Before we can approach Scripture asking what it contains, we must be quite certain who and what kind of a man it is whom Scripture addresses. The man who comes to Scripture is a man who lives in fellowship with other individuals, in which he is aware of himself as personally responsible. This anthropological presupposition is set out in the book's first two chapters, and it constitutes Østergaard-Nielsen's own approach to the understanding of Luther.

Truth for Luther is not a purely academic question which leaves our personal relationship with reality unaffected. He compares the clarity of Scripture, and therewith its validity, with the clarity of civil law. However clear the letter of the law is, it requires an unimpeachable judge who will apply it in a given situation without reference to his own personal interest. If the judgment is unjust, it does not mean that the law was not clear, but that the judge was a bad judge. The clarity of Scripture does not mean that, because of this clarity, it is possible to produce an authoritative view of the Christian message. The clarity of Scripture for Luther means that, as a historical account, it is in itself authoritative and that, as a description of God's words and acts, it is intelligible to all and not merely, for example, to the church,

the believer or someone filled with the Spirit, i.e., to someone who possesses an authority derived from some place outside Scripture.

Here Luther stands in opposition to both the Roman church and the Enthusiasts. He is involved in a fight on two fronts—against the pope of Rome and the Enthusiasts' pope, the common man. If the authority of the former lay in the ministry of the church, that of the latter lay in "spiritual enlightenment." But both according to Luther build on a false conception of authority.

Luther's starting point is that Scripture has a center. Not everything in Scripture stands on the same level, but any given text must be interpreted and evaluated from what Scripture, as a historical account, is concerned with. That center is the understanding of man's relation to God as a personal relationship which is manifested above all in the person and work of Christ. Christ is not therefore in the first place an example, or pattern, appearing in the ranks of those who are expert in the fulfilling of the law (p. 138). He is not merely the revealer of the true idea of God, so that through the knowledge which Christ gives us of God we come to have the right idea of God. As long as Christ is conceived of in that way, man is related merely to an idea of God; i.e., he still remains in the objective subject-object relationship of metaphysical theology, and not in a personal relationship to the living God. No, Christ as the center of Scripture is the revealer and communicator of God's word and name, i.e., he shows that only in a personal relation to God can man realize his life's purpose as a "personal being," as a being acting in responsibility and freedom, who does not follow any external authority but fulfills himself in the mutual freedom and responsibility of fellowship. The man who is confronted by the revelation Christ imparts is not an "anonymous subject," but a man who—since he already stands in a particular historical fellowship with other men—can understand what Scripture mediates (p. 142). Before revelation, and quite independently of it, man knows something about himself. His understanding of himself as a "personal being" is thus not the content but the form of revelation. The content of revelation, and therefore of preaching, is that man ought to be a "personal being" not only in his fellowship with men, but also in his fellowship with God. Revelation is a new act of God in the sense that God the Creator aban-

dons his anonymity and establishes a personal relationship between himself and man. This new relationship is not, however, something alien to man and incomprehensible to him.

One thing which Østergaard-Nielsen seeks to do with this diagnosis is to do away with the question which characterizes the discussion about an *Anknüpfungspunkt* in man. In this discussion man's relationship with God has been conceived as a subject-object relationship, and so we are bound to the false viewpoint of metaphysical theology. If before revelation and quite independently of it man is a "personal being" in his relationship with other men, then the revelation of man's relationship with God as a personal fellowship is, in principle, clear and its description intelligible to every "person" (p. 31)—just as the description of something in the field of science is intelligible to every scientist. Luther in his polemic against Erasmus and the Enthusiasts asserts that the Bible is not in principle obscure, but absolutely clear, if one presupposes the anthropology with which the Bible itself presents us. In Scripture man finds himself depicted, the story of his own life, namely the account of man's straying from and his return to a personal relationship with God—the account of man's fall and restoration. The Bible describes man's relationship with God not in objective categories, on the analogy of natural science, but in anthropomorphic categories, in pictures derived from man's life as a "personal being." Moreover we should remember that man's relations to others are not, according to Luther, isolated from his relation to God. It is not only in Scripture that man hears God's "word," but also in the demands which come to him, as a "personal being," from his fellow men.

This fundamental idea in Østergaard-Nielsen's conception of man's relationship with God is systematically and consistently applied at all points in his presentation of Luther's theology. Thus, for example, the church is the place where God meets man with his fellowship-creating word; the church is "the source of faith." A man's work or earthly vocation is "the place where he lives his faith." In the church one hears the living spoken word, which calls man out of the anonymity of the subject-object relationship and places him in the fellowship of men, where, within the structure of his work and station, he can realize his "personal being" both vertically and horizontally.

The doctrine of the sacraments is likewise interpreted by the author in terms of the personal nature of man's relationship with God. In the Roman church baptism and Holy Communion had been subjected to a "Babylonian captivity," in that they were thought to work *ex opere operato*. Luther's protest against this in *The Babylonian Captivity* (1520) is ultimately a reaction, says the author, against "the depersonalization of man's relationship with God." The sacrament loses its character as a gift when the link between gift and Giver is broken. "The gift is not a 'thing' or an 'object,' valuable in itself; its whole value and significance is rather to be found in the personal relationship between Giver and recipient which the gift presupposes or brings about" (p. 165). In this interpretation of the sacraments lies an understanding of the church which frees the church from its Babylonian captivity. "Thus the church is not an institution endowed with the power and the capacity to transform the earthly elements of the sacrament and possessed of the right to administer the sacrament to whom it will. The church is part of the personal community constituted by the whole of a people. This obligates the church, in the name of Jesus, both to make God's word known and to extend his gifts to everyone who believes" (p. 175).

Thus the author gives Luther's view of Scripture a quite distinct meaning. Luther distinguishes between "Scripture" and "oral word." As Christ comes to man as a gift in the sacrament only when it is administered and received in faith, so also he comes in the word only when its content is "administered" in a direct, vocative form. The word of Scripture remains description as long as it is not preached. In "the [written] Scripture" God and man are still "anonymous." But in the moment of proclamation God breaks through into man's anonymity and establishes a personal relationship with him. Therefore it belongs to the essence of Scripture to be a preached word, *viva vox*. Where the "spoken" word does not receive its due, we make Scripture into a metaphysical document, and we seek salvation by striving after conformity with some kind of norm which we think to have found in Scripture (p. 192).

On the basis of this understanding of Scripture and the church, it is not part of the church's ministry to give an authoritative interpretation of Scripture. The function of the ministry is in principle the same as that

of officials in secular society. In and through his appointed lot (his *Amt*) the individual hears God's word to him. He stands there, placed in a personal fellowship, in which he is bound in his responsibility for others. The real ministry of the church is therefore "the priesthood of all believers," in which none stands above another or in another's place, but all engage in mutual service. The minister does not substitute for Christ as his representative, any more than Christ himself substituted for God. Christ's ministry lay in his entering into history as the head of the human family. Jesus' word had authority because he spoke to his neighbour as, at one and the same time, king and brother; he spoke as one standing under the law and professed his fellowship with those under the law (p. 197). But if the gulf between Christ and men is bridged, then there is no longer any gulf between church and people, between the ministry and the laity. The only difference Luther recognizes between minister and layman lies in the different forms of service they carry out in the same fellowship. If Christ is present but hidden in the outward and visible signs of the sacraments and the preached word, he is also through his church present but hidden in the outward and visible signs of the community (p. 204). The gospel cannot be preached as a living word outside this human fellowship. It is for this reason that Luther rejects the hierarchical view of the church's ministry. The church's ministry is not necessary for anything other than this: "It was necessary that the church transfer the ministry to the person who proclaims it publicly; otherwise he would speak as an 'anonymous subject'" (p. 205). For the same reason as we choose one citizen to be mayor, so that he may administer common concerns, so we choose a minister that he may do the public preaching. Therefore the commission received in ordination is not linked with a *character indelebilis*. It is valid only as long as the minister serves the church, and it ceases when he leaves that service. In that respect all offices are similar (p. 205, especially note 88).

The minister's "office" (*Amt*) as distinguished from the priesthood of all believers lies therefore in the *preached* word. The *exposition* of Scripture however, is the privilege of *all* Christians in precisely the same way as the interpretation of the law is not reserved solely for the mayor. The *application* of Scripture or preaching is not the business

of everybody—just as the application of the law, i.e. judgment, does not fall to everyone. The application is committed to those exercising certain functions.

"The oral word" cannot therefore be defined as the literal reproduction of the word of Scripture or "the pure gospel." The preacher does not speak as an anonymous subject, communicating an objective truth to other equally anonymous men, as is the case for example when a radio announcer speaks, let us say, on weather conditions in Greenland. The minister has received his office in order to speak on behalf of the fellowship; he speaks to his fellow men, he communicates to them a divine message, which breaks actively into the fellowship of which he and his hearers are a part. The word therefore cannot be a *description* of a past event; it must be direct *address*. The presupposition for this is that the preacher should have studied and understood Scripture, not as an anonymous subject contemplating a bare account of what is past and gone, but as one who is aware that he speaks from the position he has within the fellowship, i.e., as one who knows that through baptism he has left behind the anonymity of the subject-object relationship.

Because it is the "mature" Luther's understanding of Scripture which is the basis of this view of man's relationship with God, Østergaard-Nielsen is critical of Luther interpretation which discovers Reformation traits in the underlying point of view of the young Luther. Thus he attacks not only interpretation which has been influenced by existentialist philosophy (Ebeling and Gogarten) but also Regin Prenter, Ruben Josefson, Ragnar Bring and other distinguished contemporary Luther scholars. Ever since Vogel-sang and E. Seeberg, he contends, we have obscured the difference between an evaluation of Luther's *theologia crucis*, which uses the concepts of metaphysical theology, and Luther's clarity about man's relationship with God as something personal, a clarity he derived from his new understanding of Scripture. The idea of conformity with Christ through suffering which is present in the theology of the cross means that Christ is looked upon as an example and not as a gift, and that involves in its turn a mixing of law and gospel. Luther's distinction between "active" and "passive" righteousness, or between "Christ's example" and "Christ himself" must be taken seriously. Man can never

here in this world be conformed to Christ himself. He can only receive in faith the Christ who is hidden under the outward signs of the preached word and the administered sacraments. Only in the *lumen gloriae* will the opposition between "law and gospel," *deus absconditus* and *deus revelatus*, "active" and "passive" righteousness, and "Christ as example" and "Christ himself" be resolved. For the present, man lives in faith as one who *receives*, a situation in which his only hope lies in the "passive" righteousness given and administered to him in the word (pp. 154-160). The author maintains that the deliberate attempt in some Luther research to demonstrate as much agreement as possible between the younger and the older Luther is misguided. He does not deny that Luther's "personal (evangelical) attitude and his theological orientation" are the same in both his early and his later years. But if we dispute that a development and change took place in Luther's realm of ideas, he says, then we run the risk of continuing in the theology which Luther so passionately attacked (p. 181, note 33).

The only significant theologian and preacher who has understood Luther, according to Østergaard-Nielsen, is the Danish minister and theologian N.F.S. Grundtvig (p. 141, note 215). In Grundtvig's conception of *Volklichkeit* in Luther's idea of vocation (i.e., his placing of vocation in the context of one's people and country), the basis of a quite new understanding of "scholarliness" (*Wissenschaftlichkeit*) is discernible. This is not "secularization" but a recognition of the biblical interpretation of human life as fellowship as opposed to an objective relationship. As long as modern society and education are based on the idea that responsibility is something which we ourselves decide to shoulder or not—for example whether we will join a party or an organization—then Luther's understanding of vocation will be alien to us. For Luther, responsibility is something we "have," which is given in the fact of human existence as fellowship (p. 142).

I have treated this book at some length and in some detail, although it does not offer any new Luther material, because it has succeeded in presenting an aspect of Luther's theology which has until now been largely neglected. The author is well aware that he reads Luther through Grundtvigian glasses and employs a somewhat modern terminology in his treatment. But why not? Grundtvig was a most

able Lutheran theologian. The only question is whether Østergaard-Nielsen has disregarded some indispensable aspects in Luther's—and Grundtvig's—theology. Luther and perhaps also Grundtvig stood nearer primitive Christianity than Østergaard-Nielsen suspects. Both had in fact, by contrast with Østergaard-Nielsen, some understanding of the theological significance of the dualism: death and life. The antagonistic element in Luther's theology, which regards sin and death as man's enemies from which God, through his creative, life-giving acts, sets man free, is notably absent from this thesis. Instead man's enemies are a "metaphysical conception of theology" and "the anonymity of an objective relationship." It is due to this and not to the supposed opposition between the young and the old Luther, that Østergaard-Nielsen has difficulty in finding room for Luther's sayings on the Christian's cross and tribulation (*Anfechtung*) in his general view of Luther's theology.

DAVID LÖFGREN

RATIO UND FIDES. *Eine Untersuchung über die ratio in der Theologie Luthers. (Forschungen zur Kirchen- und Dogmengeschichte, Vol. 8.)* By Bernhard Lohse. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1958. 141 pp., DM 13.50.

This inaugural dissertation by BERNHARD LOHSE, lecturer at Hamburg university, is a significant piece of work on an important problem which Luther research has treated inadequately, if at all. It is the problem of the ambiguity (a more apt word than "dialectic") of Luther's statements on the capacity of human reason*: on the one hand Luther regards reason as totally blind and on the other hand as the greatest of God's gifts. In two parts, historical and systematic, the author demonstrates the consistency of Luther's statements and in addition throws considerable light on Luther's conception of reason in the context of his theology as a whole.

* *Ratio*, which Lohse defines as the faculty by which we attain knowledge (*Erkenntnisvermögen*). He retains the Latin word "since neither *Vernunft* nor *Verstand* exactly reproduces the meaning of *ratio*.... The exact meaning must be tested in each individual case" (p. 1, n. 1). (Translator.)

Luther's new conception of reason, says Lohse, is already complete in his lectures on Romans, his first lectures on Galatians and his lectures on Hebrews. After carefully comparing his view of reason in these lectures with his earliest statements on reason, which were still under the spell of nominalism, Lohse finds that Luther's viewpoint, also in regard to reason, changed gradually in the course of his first series of lectures on the Psalms. In God's sight human wisdom is foolishness; God's wisdom is "other" and with it he makes us wise. If man's will is justified, his reason is subsequently enlightened. It would have been good had these questions of origin been pursued further. It might have revealed how much of Luther's nominalistic training (at least the methodological and philosophical aspects of it) survived, in spite of his independent thinking, in his opinion of reason and his own use of it, and lingered on into his later years and even into Lutheran Orthodoxy.

In the systematic section, which is based mainly on writings after 1520, the author deals with or at least touches upon almost all the important questions connected with Luther's concept of reason. In part he is able to draw upon other works; e.g., on the ethical aspects of reason, he refers to Lau, Heckel, Hillerdal and others, on the question of theology and philosophy he refers to Hägglund. His own interest, however, is in the chief question raised by Luther's anthropology: what happens to man's natural reason as a result of faith? Does rebirth have no effect on the autonomy of reason? Or does reason disappear entirely in favor of a religious irrationalism? Or is it even transformed into a sort of "Christian reason" which is not subject to logic? The author rejects all these attempts at a solution, particularly the last one, as erroneous interpretations of Luther. His own tentative conclusion at this point is that Luther does not isolate reason in this way, but sees it constantly in connection with the will [*voluntas*] and determined by it. At the same time, although Lohse seems to think otherwise, in our opinion this intimate coupling of *ratio* and *voluntas* is not really the new element in Luther's thought as compared to scholasticism (cf. here G. Stratenwerth, *Die Naturrechtslehre des Duns Scotus*, Göttingen, 1951, p. 27 ff.). This coupling, as I see it, is merely Luther's negative evaluation of natural reason in view of his conception of man's "free will" (*liberum arbitrium*), as

Lohse brings out admirably on p. 70 ff. (Thus Luther says that the Gospel of John "makes 'free will' guilty of all that is charged against the will, and his reason is that the world does all that it does by the power of 'free will,' that is, by will (*voluntas*) and reason, its own most excellent parts," WA 18, 776, 27 ff., quoted by Lohse, p. 70, n. 6.) Luther does not speak of reason as something bad in itself but as something corrupted by the sinful ego, as being condemned along with this ego by the law and *Anfechtung* and through the new obedience of the will liberated to attain its true natural state. Thus in a certain respect man's reason is less sinful than his will. Indeed, God uses men's powers of reason whether they will or no in his rule of the world. But in God's sight *ratio* is bound up for better or for worse with the rebellious or obedient *voluntas*, and Luther can therefore label reason an especially pernicious enemy of faith and yet regard it as enlightened (= freed from egotism) and in this state capable of serving faith.

In its original state reason had two tasks: to enable man to know God (i.e., love and contemplate him) and to enable him to rule over the lesser beings (the "ethical" characteristic of reason). The author traces the first of these two enduring traits of reason through virtually the whole *ordo salutis*. Of all these valuable studies of specific aspects of the problem we call attention only to those on the natural knowledge of God and the question of whether fallen man possesses the unailing urge to do good. Lohse draws on interesting new material from *De votis monasticis* (the import of which he perhaps overestimates) to show very impressively the extent to which reason, according to Luther, does not know what God *is* but does know what he *is not*. He shows, furthermore, that according to Luther reason cannot itself come to a positive knowledge of God and of his will, but that, on the negative side, what is obviously contrary to reason is also contrary to God's truth (p. 65 ff.). Whether all this can be brought under the heading "Reason's Consciousness of its Incognizance of God" would still have to be demonstrated with statements from Luther. As we see it, for Luther even this recognition by reason of its own inadequacy is not possible without the preaching of repentance and grace. A very significant consequence of Lohse's recognition of this self-awareness of reason is his interpretation of Luther's reply at the Diet of Worms, in

which he appealed to reason alongside of Scripture.

All in all, in spite of many places where the material is too compressed, this is an unusually stimulating and enriching Luther study.

MARTIN SCHLOEMANN

THE REVOLT OF MARTIN LUTHER.
By Robert Herndon Fife. New York: Columbia University Press, 1957. 726 pp., \$9.75.

GOTTES GEBOT BEI MARTIN LUTHER. *Eine Untersuchung der Theologie Luthers unter besonderer Berücksichtigung des ersten Hauptstückes im Grossen Katechismus.* (Schriften der Luther Agricola Gesellschaft, Volume 11.) By Aarne Siirala. Helsinki: Kuopio, 1956. 364 pp., DM 16.80.

FIFE's book is an excellent biography on Luther's formative years. The author describes Luther's development beginning with his early days at home and in school; he depicts the monk in the cloister, the student of theology and the young lecturer, tells about Luther's journey to Rome, and so forth. The growth and significance of a new theology within Luther's so-called "magisterial lectures" on the Bible are thoroughly analyzed. The exciting events following the nailing of the famous ninety-five theses on the door of the Castle Church in Wittenberg are recounted. Finally, the author depicts Luther's journey to Worms and the incidents at the diet in 1521, certainly one of the most important events in the history of Germany.

The author, who is Gebhard professor emeritus of Germanic languages and literature at Columbia University, was, already in the 1920's, well-known as a Luther scholar. He once delivered the Olaus Petri Lectures at the University of Uppsala in Sweden; his topic was Luther's religious development and the lectures were published in 1928 in a volume called *Young Luther*. Now, nearly three decades later, Fife presents this comprehensive study, in thirty-four chapters, on Luther's road to reformation.

Fife does not claim to present a novel approach to the background material; he does want to make "a careful reexamination of the sources and the opinions of competent critics" (p. viii). In this he is certainly successful; the analysis is generally good, even

in details, and he writes in a manner that arouses interest.

I should like to comment here, however, on the general state of Luther research in America. This well-written book is not an unusual product of American scholarship, which, on the contrary, has made many good contributions to the description of the Reformer's life. On the other hand, the contributions to the interpretation of Luther's theology from a systematic point of view are few. The acquaintance with Luther seems to be very one-sided: American Lutheranism needs a new interest in the Reformer's theology as such and a series of bold interpretations of his thought. A more systematic approach to this theology would contribute much to the further development of Lutheranism in America. This, however, is not a criticism of Fife's extremely good work. It is rather a desideratum for the future.

AARNE SIIRALA's study is a dissertation presented to the theological faculty at Helsinki. The author spent a long time at Lund, however. Thus, in one sense, it is correct to say that his book is a fruit of Lundensian Luther research. The author first discusses (pp. 7-21) methodological questions, and in this connection he finds the opportunity to express his hope that the philosophy of religion of the so-called Lundensian school (Anders Nygren, Ragnar Bring) will find a continuation in spite of its critics (particularly Gustaf Wingren, Nygren's successor in the chair of theological ethics, cf. the long footnote on p. 15 f.).

The starting-point of this interesting work on Luther's theology is the author's observation that the expression "God's commandment" was used continually by Luther. The task then is to interpret it in all the contexts in which it occurs, with the Large Catechism coming in for special consideration because God's commandment is there the clue to the correct understanding of Luther's teaching. As to method, Siirala declares that it is of great importance to realize that the theology of the mature Luther is an attempt to abandon the scholastic approach. Luther "confesses that he often flees from the actual discussion of the moment to the Bible, in order to get new questions and answers from the Scriptures" (p. 17). This thesis of the author is certainly worth underlining. Luther stated already in 1518 that the wholesome study of the Bible is to be preferred to the perverting study of philosophy and scholastic theology

(cf. the letter to J. Trutfetter, WA, *Briefwechsel*, no. 74).

Siirala, having outlined "God's commandments and God as their Giver" (pp. 22-52), speaks in the first main section of "God's commanding in his commandments" (pp. 53-117). Under this momentarily confusing title, Siirala gives an account of Luther's interpretation of the first three commandments. His general theses in this connection are the following: the first commandment demonstrates the principle of *sola gratia* (pp. 53-104); in obedience to the second commandment man is justified *solo verbo* (pp. 105-135); the third commandment signifies the principle *sola fide* (pp. 136-177). All this seems too simple a schematization; the author makes a good defense of his theses, however. His interpretation of Luther's view of the Bible (on p. 111 ff.) is, it appears to this reviewer, of special interest. Siirala stresses the fact that the Scriptures never became another "pope" for Luther. The significance of the Bible cannot be that it gives authoritative statutes and rules of behavior. "Faith itself is the 'dark road'; it offers no fixed starting-point for human thinking or action. Faith contains no criteria for what is the word of God" (p. 121). To search for such criteria implies unbelief.

The last section deals with "God's fulfillment of his commandments" (pp. 178-351). What is discussed here is, generally speaking, God's acting upon man within the framework of the two kingdoms, the temporal and the spiritual. "God creates by means of his commands, and he fulfills commandments by virtue of his reign" (p. 178 ff.). Siirala's theses here run along this line: "In obeying the fourth commandment, man is surrounded by God's creative activity and his fatherly reign"; and, lastly, "God fulfills his own commandments in that he shatters man's fulfillment of the law and through His reign sets man free for the life in Christ" (p. 267 ff.).

On the whole, Siirala's book does not set forth any revolutionary theses. Most of the things stated by the author have been said several times before. This does not mean, however, that the book has no value for contemporary Luther research. On the contrary, Siirala, from his new starting-point, has made a comprehensive study of Luther's theology that is a worthy contribution to our knowledge of the Reformer.

GUNNAR HILLERDAL

In Honor of Thurneysen and H. Rendtorff

GOTTESDIENST-MENSCHENDIENST.
Eduard Thurneysen zum 70. Geburtstag.
Zollikon-Zürich: Evangelischer Verlag. 1958.
350 pp., S. Fr. 30.55.

The tribute to Eduard Thurneysen on his 70th birthday could hardly have found a better mode of expression than this book. The first part presents extracts from correspondence between Thurneysen and Karl Barth from 1921-1925. Those were the years when Karl Barth began working in Germany, and when what we now know as "dialectical theology" ripened into maturity, not least through the dialogue between Barth and Thurneysen. It comes as no surprise that the difficult political situation after the end of the first world war is reflected in this correspondence as well as theological developments.

Thurneysen was in Switzerland, the pastor of a small congregation, who from time to time published theological articles and writings of his own and also collaborated in the publishing of Barth's works. At the other end of the exchange is Karl Barth, already climbing rapidly to his years of outstanding success—the young professor winning ever more acclaim, on the point of leaving his mark on postwar theological development. What a difference, and at the same time what good fellowship! And what providential guidance it was that bound the forward-striving theologian, who only too often overshot the mark, to his friend of almost the same age, who was already more settled and balanced even in his youth. The fine thing about this correspondence is that the two men were not afraid to expose vulnerable areas in themselves and their theology and that it was published without regard to the facile and shallow criticism to which it lays them open.

The theological world owes these two great men a debt of gratitude for revealing themselves in such a simple, human way in their correspondence. The separate stages of the way become evident. Controversies with Wobbermin and above all with Hirsch dominate Barth's letters. The influence of Barth's commentary on Romans is evident even in this exchange of personal letters. The same expressions and images used in the commentary appear in altered form in Barth's letters

to his friend and offer the psychologist interesting evidence of the way in which a man's professional life and his personal relations are interwoven and how the latter gives inspiration to the former.

Now, we are all acquainted not only with Karl Barth the theologian, but also with the professor with his very independent political ideas. What first catches one's eye in this connection is Barth's emphatic opposition to French politics in the years immediately after the war. Wisely exhorted to moderation by his friend, the same man who sharply rejects every form of German nationalism also opposes France's policy toward Germany which in those years was under the spell of the Treaty of Versailles. Among the politicians who impress him is Hindenburg—not because of his "Christianity," but because of the powerful impact of his personality. Thus the correspondence which is meant to throw light on Thurneysen is primarily a mirror of the life of Karl Barth in those significant years spent in Germany. But the perceptive reader will discover in Thurneysen's modest answers—frequently short and often combined with prudent advice—early signs of Thurneysen's great gifts for pastoral counseling which were to show themselves later. It is not the theological content of this correspondence which made it so worthwhile for me so much as the way in which Thurneysen as a young man is here able to lead, guide and help his only slightly older friend.

But this correspondence is—I am almost tempted to say, unfortunately—not all that is contained in the book. There are also articles by Walther Lüthi ("A Chapter"), John E. Staehelin ("Guilt as a Psychiatric and Pastoral Problem"), Johannes Hamel ("The Preaching of the Gospel in the Marxist World"), Wilhelm Vischer ("Old Testament Prefigurations of our Ministry") and several others. These contributions, it seems to me, vary widely in value.

The one by Staehelin is excellent. Thurneysen's *Lehre von der Seelsorge* was a pioneering effort to demonstrate a relationship between psychotherapy and pastoral work. This was at a time when psychotherapy rested on certain presuppositions which made even tentative relations with Christian pastoral work appear almost impossible. What Thurneysen wrote in that book on the relation between pastoral care and psychotherapy is no longer completely adequate for us today. Staehelin brings what is indicated there down to our day.

He goes to the heart of the problem, the question of guilt. Here at last guilt and sin are for once clearly separated and it is shown that in psychotherapy too there are analysts who look upon guilt as something more than a symptom to be psychoanalyzed away.

In the case of Wilhelm Vischer's "Old Testament Prefigurations" there are some points which make us somewhat uneasy theologically when we look at them from the standpoint of the Lutheran understanding of Scripture. Even if it is not clearly stated, the Reformed view of Scripture occupies the foreground—a view which is too quick to apply Old Testament events to present situations and is in danger of holding Old Testament decisions up as patterns to be followed in our contemporary social and political situation. We noted with pleasure, however, that Vischer speaks of the "priestly pastor." And we were glad to see with what seriousness he speaks of the pastoral service of the priest and how he emphasizes the danger that exists when priestly service is restricted to the performance of cultic acts.

But we must express serious reservations about Johannes Hamel's article. Hamel is very well versed in theology and no one who knows this courageous and upright man personally will be tempted to confuse personal issues with the subject at hand. But this essay, which Karl Barth recently characterized as "excellent," would seem to call for the taking of sides. It is not at all a question of politics or party leanings. At issue are some much more difficult theological questions: what prophethood is, the New Testament view of freedom, and how Romans 13, Jeremiah 29 and other passages are to be interpreted.

What Hamel writes about the "preaching of the gospel in the Marxist world" has seldom been stated in just this way. What he does is to take "political" decisions on matters of principle recorded in the Bible and make them binding for quite specific contemporary events. Let us first of all emphasize—we hope distinctly enough to be clearly understood—that we too want under all circumstances to keep the dialogue with communism free from the foolish habit of seeing everything in black and white, from the militant crusading attitude and the foolish talk which would have Western Christianity "defend" itself against the antichrist in the form of Bolshevism. Our divergence from Hamel is not political but theological. By summarily projecting biblical situations into

the concrete events of contemporary history, Hamel draws practical consequences which ignore reality and must be described—whatever may be said to the contrary—as a species of Enthusiasm.

Now Hamel, who is lecturer in practical theology at Naumburg in East Germany, lives in "the Marxist world," and it is not exactly unfamiliar to me either. How can Hamel then regard the state subsidies for the theological faculties and the "enormous sums" which the government of East Germany gives the church for scholarships as an evidence of good will? Has he forgotten that in the early years of his regime Hitler donated innumerable church windows, granted theological scholarships and gave financial support to all sorts of theological gatherings and retreats? How is it possible to write the following after the events in Mecklenburg and the incidents on the occasion of the general synod of the EKd in East Berlin: "Nor can it be denied that in East Germany elections to synods and to the leading positions in the church, not to mention appointments to pastorates, have been taking place since 1945 in an atmosphere such as these churches have hardly ever enjoyed in the past, an atmosphere of freedom from influence exerted either by the state or any other quarters." Hamel has after all taken part in far too many meetings of the leaders of his church not to know that there is constant external pressure on pastors and members of synods to compel them to take certain decisions acceptable to the state.

It may be theologically feasible to describe the Marxists as the "servants of the Lord." Nevertheless the question still remains whether every state and every ideology (note, every) may not also be counted among the "servants of Satan," of whom the Bible speaks with as much seriousness as it does of the "servants of the Lord."

This volume represents in a way a compendium of present-day Reformed dialectical theology. As such it is very valuable and can only be recommended to every Lutheran pastor and theologian.

HANS-JOACHIM THILO

SAMMLUNG UND SENDUNG. *Vom Auftrag der Kirche in der Welt. Eine Festgabe für D. Heinrich Rendtorff zu seinem 70. Geburtstag am 9. April 1958.* Edited by J. Heubach and H.-H. Ulrich. Berlin: Christlicher Zeitschriftenverlag, 1958. 352 pp.

Unobtrusively but impressively the contributions to *Sammlung und Sendung* demonstrate that theology is a *scientia eminens practica*, a fitting tribute to Heinrich Rendtorff—former bishop of Mecklenburg, retired professor of practical theology at Kiel University and an important figure at the German Kirchentags. The contributors include Bishops Halfmann, Hertrich, Lilje, Meyer and Wester, Professors Hertzberg, Hoffmann, Köberle and Spoerri, and other men prominent in church life. They also include writers from Switzerland, Finland, Sweden and the United States.

The 34 articles are arranged under the following chapter headings: the ministry, the church, the worship service, preaching, pastoral work, the ecumenical world, service in the world. But all of them fit well under the subtitle, *The Mission of the Church in the World*. It is this that makes this book so well worth reading and so helpful for the theology and service of the church. True, it would have been in order if, in accordance with the title, the "mission" of the church had been understood and presented more in terms of the geographical vastness and urgency of the task in view of the pagan two-thirds of humanity. Nevertheless the younger churches do appear in two contributions, and Bishop Lilje writes with refreshing clarity and penetration on "Evangelism in an Ecumenical Perspective." Most of the other articles are concerned with problems of the church and home missions, the best probably being those by Bishop Wilhelm Halfmann of Kiel ("Home Missions and the Parish Ministry"), Carl Mau ("Stewardship"), Adolf Köberle ("I have become all things to all men." On the Problem of *Anknüpfung* in Present-Day Theology") and Paul Toasperm ("What can we Learn from American Home Missions?").

If space permitted, one would have to cite all the titles in order to indicate something of the breadth and depth of the book. In addition to theological studies ("The Judge of Israel"; "The Missionary Church in the Letters of the Apostles"; "Cult, Myth and History in Ancient Israel"; "The Samaritan Passover") there are ones introducing the reader to pastoral ethics, the Lutheran confessions, the education problem, the churches and Moral Rearmament, and some other topics. A bibliography of Heinrich Rendtorff's works concludes the work. Unfortunately there is no index; the reader who wants to make the best use of the book will have to compile his own.

Anyone working on questions connected with evangelism or home missions will find this book indispensable.

ARNO LEHMANN

The Times Test the Church

THE TIMES TEST THE CHURCH. By Frederick K. Wentz. Philadelphia: Muhlenberg Press, 1956. 154 pp., \$1.95.

LABOR, INDUSTRY, AND THE CHURCH. By John Daniel. Saint Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1957. 229 pp., index, bibliographies, \$3.00.

CHRISTIANITY, DEMOCRACY, AND TECHNOLOGY. By Zoltan Sztankay. New York: Philosophical Library, 1957. 182 pp., \$3.75.

One of the heartening by-products of the ecumenical movement has been the manner in which more intimate acquaintance with the phenomenon of world Christianity has forced Christians everywhere—and probably American Christians especially—to look at their faith in broader perspective. It is difficult to be complacent about the church's accomplishments when the church is seen in its world setting. It is difficult to equate Christianity with democratic and economic liberalism when one is brought face-to-face with people who are Christians but do not share much of the Western cultural heritage. This type of shock, and shock it ought to be, brings with it a realization that the era in which we live presents challenges to Christianity calling simultaneously for revived interest in genuine theological foundations and increased concern for cultural relevance.

FREDERICK K. WENTZ, professor of historical theology at the Gettysburg, Pennsylvania, theological seminary, has written a brief but, within its self-imposed limitations, excellent discussion of the nature of this challenge. The context of his discussion is set by the question, Where do we stand in Christian history? Without some attempt to answer this question it is impossible to appraise intelligently the manner in which "the times test the church." Dr. Wentz has labored toward a balanced, neither unduly optimistic nor excessively pessimistic, constructive, and always readable depiction of the times, the church which they test, and some of the implications of the challenge. We believe

his efforts have been crowned with sufficient success to make this a book well worth putting into the hands of Lutheran laymen.

A similar concern for theological foundations and cultural relevance motivates JOHN DANIEL, since 1936 Lutheran pastor in Bethlehem, Pennsylvania, one of the industrial centers of the United States. He has for many years been concerned on both the practical and the theoretical level with the responsibilities of the church in the field of industrial relations. For the Missouri Synod, of which Pastor Daniel is a member, this is a ground-breaking survey. The enterprising spirit of the author becomes apparent in the foreword which the synodical publishing house felt compelled to insert disclaiming any responsibility for the views set forth. This most disturbing foreword suggests that there is at least one branch of Lutheranism which has a long way to go in understanding its times; and hence it is with regret that we find serious fault with the book.

For one thing, Pastor Daniel has attempted too much for 200 pages. He should have condensed or omitted completely much of the history of the labor movement and survey of industrial relations which he apparently felt compelled to include. The discussion is really too superficial to be valuable.

This excess of ambition is probably one explanation, but not the whole explanation, for the second shortcoming. An adequate attempt to deal with the problem of labor, industry, and the church, however introductory, cannot bind itself so closely to the proof-passage method. The problems of modern industrial relations are far more complicated than St. Paul ever dreamed they would be, and far less amenable therefore to simple theological solution. Pastor Daniel admits this explicitly, but seems to draw from it the conclusion that more sociological insight is required. This is true, but we would also argue that the author has failed to appropriate the full insight which Christian and Lutheran theology can bring to bear upon the problem in all its dimensions. Perhaps more significant, he gives us little indication in this survey that there are still theological depths to be sounded, depths which this book hardly begins to probe.

But perhaps the book will serve, as its author hopes, to arouse in his own church body a more serious, intelligent, and continuing concern for the basic socio-economic issues which are the context of a relevant Christian ethic.

Dr. ZOLTAN SZTANKAY is professor of government at Valparaiso University in Indiana. He brings to the writing of his volume on *Christianity, Democracy and Technology* the knowledge of world political forces which we would expect from one with his training and background. The thesis which he argues is that development of a world community as the base of a world government is a modern imperative. Christianity, democracy, and technology form the triumvirate of forces making the establishment of the community possible.

Dr. Sztankay writes with obvious conviction, with an overwhelming sense of urgency. But while we are able to agree with his demonstration of the need for this community, we cannot be as sanguine as he about the possibilities for its realization. And though we share his conviction that the deterioration of the community of belief which was Christendom meant the eventual loss of the consensus necessary for social and political community, we are not at all persuaded that it is possible to reestablish this community by reestablishing Christianity. There seems to be little recognition in the book of the very real possibility (probability?) that we live in a *post-Christian* world from which there can be no turning back. Hence we find in the book a coherent description of the dilemma—though we do not always find ourselves in agreement with that description—but a real paucity of live suggestions for handling the dilemma.

We might also note, fully recognizing that Dr. Sztankay has had no formal theological training and that this is not a theological work, that the radical nature of the Christian answer and the Spiritual dynamic of the gospel can be obscured or lost through an excess of zeal for showing the relevance of the faith to political problems.

PAUL T. HEYNE

Two Books on the Ministry and Ordination

PFARRERRECHT UND BEKENNTNIS. *Über die bekenntnismässige Grundlage eines Pfarrerrechts in der evangelisch-lutherischen Kirche.* By Wilhelm Maurer. Berlin: Lutharisches Verlagshaus, 1957. 194 pp., DM 14.80.

DIE ORDINATION ZUM AMT DER KIRCHE. (*Arbeiten zur Geschichte und Theologie des Luthertums, Bd. II.*) By Joachim Heubach. Berlin: Lutherisches Verlagshaus, 1956. 169 pp.

Pfarrerrecht und Bekenntnis grew out of a paper prepared upon the request of the United Evangelical Lutheran Church of Germany (VELKD) by WILHELM MAURER, well-known Erlangen church historian, on the confessional foundation of a system of church regulations pertaining to pastors. The task which the book sets itself is one of the crucial issues in contemporary Lutheran theology. There are basically three problems involved: determining what the Lutheran confessions may have to say on the subject; determining the basic principles of a system of church regulations pertaining to the rights and obligations of Protestant clergy; determining on the basis of theology and ecclesiastical law the place of a doctrine of the ministry should occupy in the Lutheran church.

The author's treatment of these three problems is exemplary and contributes materially to their solution. In addition to tackling what is at bottom a systematic task, Maurer goes into the complex historical questions which the subject involves. The first chapter is devoted to these historical questions but they are also dealt with in the course of the systematic discussions.

Part one looks at efforts in the last hundred years to determine what the Lutheran confessions have to say on the subject. The first section treats Stahl and the confessional Lutherans, the second Rudolph Sohm and the third the German church struggle of the thirties and related phenomena. The main emphasis is upon the understanding of ecclesiastical law and the Lutheran confession. Maurer succeeds in compressing a great number of new insights into a very small space. Worthy of particular note is his attempt to do justice to Rudolph Sohm and his work and to assess his positive contribution to present-day thinking on ecclesiastical jurisprudence.

The systematic part is an exhaustive study of the three problems mentioned above. It deals with them in different order, however, following the original paper. From the word *instituere* as used in the Lutheran confessions Maurer shows that the confessions are quite open to thinking in legal categories. Their re-

jection of the Roman church as a legal institution must not be taken as tantamount to a rejection of legal categories in themselves. "In the confessions," says Maurer, "the word *instituere* always signifies a law-establishing act with, or laying claim to, spiritual character" (p. 74).

Instituere designates, first, human ordinances governing the church's acts; the confessions recognize such ordinances as purposeful even though they must continually be measured by God's word. It designates, second, human "institutions"—ecclesiastical ordinances—which "seek to come between man and the God who vouchsafes salvation" with the claim to be necessary for salvation (p. 75). These the confessions emphatically reject. The third and most important form of *institutio*—the "law-establishing act"—is the institution resting in the "mandate" of God himself. The ministry of the word, for example, and the sacraments have been established by God through such an *institutio*.

Thus the confessions recognize a divine system of law [*Recht*] "which actively opposes erroneous human law but, at the same time, is also a source for the establishment of genuine human law" (p. 79). The divine system of law is created by the "creative power of the word of God" (p. 78). The creative word is at work in the natural world, preserving and sanctifying. In establishing our law and ordinances, we are charged with the responsibility of making them accord with the creative word, with the divine system of law. The statement in Article XXIII of the Augsburg Confession, "*nulla lex humana potest mandata dei tollere*," should therefore not be interpreted as absolutely opposed to law, says Maurer; rather it makes human law *possible*. Now God's creative word is at work not only in the natural world but in the spiritual sphere, in the church, as well. The Spirit of God, who is operative in his church through the word, creates his organs and institutions, i.e. he creates "law." To this law ecclesiastical law established by humans must conform: "Protestant ecclesiastical law is the response of men to a mandate of God" (p. 84).

Thus Maurer shows clearly that the Lutheran confessions definitely *do* have something to say on the subject of ecclesiastical law and that principles for regulations and ordinances pertaining specifically to the clergy *do* exist in the Protestant church. In the historical studies accompanying the systematic exposi-

tion, Maurer sets Protestant clerical law off from the Roman clerical law in Gratian's *Decretum*. He believes that divine law [*Recht*] must be understood in the sense of gospel—word of promise. We cannot go into all the details here but suffice it to say that Maurer looks upon divine law as creative mandate, equating it with “the faith-quicken- ing word of promise” and interpreting it in terms of the Lutheran doctrine of justification by faith (p. 84). His concern—that divine law [*Recht*] be interpreted as gospel—must be acknowledged without condition. He has without doubt put his finger upon the intention of the Lutheran confessions. Whether there is a solution of the difficulties which arise when Maurer's thesis is confronted with Lutheran teaching on law [*Gesetz*] and gospel is still open to question, however. It gives systematic theology and Protestant ecclesiastical jurisprudence a great deal to work on.

The character of Protestant ecclesiastical law determines the nature of the office of the ministry. “Divine law consists in the proclaimed word” (p. 111). The church is to be conceived of as a function of the word, not as a divine institution. Here Protestant ecclesiastical law differs from Roman canon law. The creative word needs ministers to proclaim it. This is the foundation of the ministry of the word which is in the first place the “ministry of every believer” (p. 112). But inasmuch as the ministry of the word must be discharged continually and publicly, it calls for a special institution, i.e., the office of the ministry or, as Maurer puts it, “the office of the public ministry” [*das öffentliche Dienstamt*] (p. 112).

The question of the basis of the ministry (the third problem mentioned at the beginning) is thus answered in a special way: God's creative mandate makes all believers responsible for the ministry in general but also creates the institution of the public ministry. “Thus Protestant ecclesiastical law is at the same time clerical law” (p. 114). The second is the center of the first.

Maurer's book, taken as a whole, will be of crucial significance for future thinking in the sphere of ecclesiastical law. He has in any case laid the groundwork for further, fruitful study in this area. The great number of new leads, new ideas and new insights compressed into the 192 pages of this book deserve to be dealt with at much greater length.

The goal of JOACHIM HEUBACH's *Die Ordination*, an inaugural dissertation presented to the theological faculty of Kiel University in 1955, was to develop the outlines of a Lutheran “theology of ordination.” This is a task he believes to be particularly urgent today: the present theological view of ordination in the Lutheran church is still governed by the theological viewpoint of the late 19th century, he says, but liturgically, through the VELKD ordination formula of 1950, some essentially new thinking on ordination has already begun.

With this in mind Heubach devotes the first chapter to the problem of ordination in 19th and 20th century Lutheran theology and the succeeding chapters to laying the systematic groundwork for a theology of ordination.

The systematic part is by far the more important. The treatment of the ordination problem in the 19th and 20th century is quite inadequate. Heubach comes up with two groups of theologians: one (Kliefoth, Löhe, Vilmar) sees ordination as a theological problem, the other (Rietschel) as primarily a legal act of the church. The author's sympathy is clearly with the first group. By emphasizing that ordination is a legal act, says Heubach, Rietschel and his successors “nipped in the bud any new theological thinking on the nature of ordination” (p. 9). This methodological divorce of ecclesiastical law and theology also dominates the author's presentation of the problem in the 20th century. Paul Althaus becomes the “transmitter in the field of dogmatics of the view of ordination held by Rietschel and his followers,” while Werner Elert is said to have carried on the tradition of Kliefoth. This untenable separation of law from theology means that the whole development of Heubach's historical study is unsatisfactory. Since the study in no way contributes to a sharpened perception of the problems in the systematic part, one asks what purpose it really serves, if any.

The systematic part begins by considering the nature of the ministry. Heubach is right in believing that this is the proper place to begin working toward a solution of the problem of ordination. He believes that the ministry should be interpreted functionally and not sociologically. The basic function of the ministry, he says, is the *munus pascendi*—the church's feeding of Christ's sheep, in His stead, through the word. This pastoral office is not to be understood in supra-personal,

institutional terms; it is discharged by concrete individuals, but it must actually be discharged, it is not something one possesses, a quality or character.

In this definition one misses the basic fact about the ministry for the Reformers, that the ministry exists for the sake of the word. Heubach is always referring back to the word, but ultimately his interpretation makes of the ministry a relatively independent entity alongside the word: the ministry is the vicarious *repraesentatio Christi* and the word the means of the *repraesentatio*. The Reformers saw things just the other way around. But Heubach writes: "There is but one ministry, the pastoral ministry (*munus pascendi*). It is the vicarious *repraesentatio* of the Head of the body. In its service of the oral and visible word it is the real presence 'between the times' of Christ the Savior" (p. 72). To call Luther in support of this view borders on the audacious.

In the next section the author turns to the New Testament foundation of ordination. In line with his basic thesis that the ministry is the vicarious or real *repraesentatio* of Christ, he maintains that the sending of the Son by the Father is the basic form of ordination: "The theological origin of ordination is God's action ordaining his Son to the ministry of the gospel. God himself acted as ordainer" (p. 74). By sending out the disciples Christ continues this work of God. In addition to their *vocatio* and *missio* the disciples received the "gift [*Mitgift*] of the power of the Spirit" (p. 76). "Being called, being equipped with the gifts of grace needed to carry out the commission, and the actual commission itself" are therefore "the basic marks of 'Protestant' ordination" (p. 76). Ordination is thus an "essential" part of God's work of salvation (*ibid.*).

These three basic marks of ordination—*vocatio*, *benedictio* and *missio*, in their changing relations to one another—were retained in the Lutheran church, says Heubach. That ordination was later emptied of its meaning is traceable to the failure to remember that these three elements belong together and one must not be emphasized at the expense of the others (p. 77). Ordination thus became a legal act of the church and, in Heubach's opinion, was thereby robbed of all its theological and New Testament substance.

Heubach endeavors to mark off his conception of ordination, which he regards as the Lutheran one, from the Roman Catholic

conception. Here his view of the *benedictio* as the "gift of the power of the Spirit" is of particular interest. He comes to the conclusion that in Roman Catholic teaching on ordination the *benedictio* "no longer refers primarily and unequivocally to the discharge of the *missio*; it is something static relating to a quality [*Habitus*] of the person ordained" (p. 83). Heubach may think he has uncovered a point at which Roman Catholic teaching is fundamentally opposed to Lutheran teaching on ordination, but for the impartial observer the picture is precisely the reverse: the so-called *qualitas* possessed by the Roman priest also has a function as its purpose, namely, the sacrifice of the mass. The Reformers, moreover, never spoke of the imparting of "the power of the Spirit" through the rite of ordination. On the other hand, Heubach's extension of the intercessory nature of the *benedictio* actually comes very close to the Roman view of ordination as a sacrament.

In the following sections Heubach deals successively with the basic elements of ordination: *vocatio*, *benedictio*, *missio*. He then discusses the churchly character and apostolicity of ordination, delimits ordination in relation to the "blessing" of "ancillary" ministries (of deaconesses, catechists, parish workers, e.g.), and treats the place of ordination and its significance in terms of ecclesiastical law. To comment on all these questions would be to go beyond the scope of this review. We shall call attention only to two, Heubach's interpretation of the *benedictio* and of the significance of ordination from the standpoint of ecclesiastical law.

In ordination the *benedictio* confers a real pneumatic gift: "Ordination confirms all the pneumatic gifts the ordinand already possesses and—in view now of his *missio*—asks God once again to bestow them in special measure and through faith in the promise of Christ actually imparts them" (p. 104).

The impartation is, to be sure, "a gift of grace," i.e. the gift is imparted to the believer only "where and when it pleases God." Nevertheless it is a serious failing in this view that it neglects the Reformers' thesis that the gift of grace necessary to discharge the office of the ministry is imparted in baptism. For Heubach the gift of the Holy Spirit is "the gift of ordination" (p. 104). Despite all the safeguards Heubach erects, when stated in this way this idea leads to serious misunderstandings.

In his treatment of ordination in terms of ecclesiastical law, he rightly demands that the church laws governing ordination accord with the nature of the ministry and ordination and that they be reformulated with the new conception of the ministry in view. Indications of how this is to be done are scanty, however, as could be expected in view of Heubach's conception of ecclesiastical law.

In conclusion we would say that Heubach's book takes up the whole spectrum of difficulties and perplexities prevalent in the theology of ordination today and attempts to come to new solutions. If there are serious reservations to be made regarding most of the solutions given, this should not keep us from recognizing the book as a contribution to (but not the basis of) current discussion on ordination and a work capable of giving fruitful stimulation to further study.

HANS MARTIN MÜLLER

The Renaissance of Old Testament Theology

THEOLOGIE DES ALTEN TESTAMENTS. Teil 1, *Gott und Volk*. By Walther Eichrodt. Stuttgart: Ehrenfried Klotz, and Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1957 (5th revised edition). 362 pp., DM 17.20.

THEOLOGIE DES ALTEN TESTAMENTS IN GRUNDZÜGEN. By T. C. Vriezen. Wageningen, Netherlands: Veenman & Zonen, 1949, and Neukirchen/Moers: Verlag der Buchhandlung des Erziehungsvereins, 1957. 343 pp.

THE FAITH OF ISRAEL. *Aspects of Old Testament Thought*. By H. H. Rowley. London: SCM Press, 1956. 220 pp., 18 s.

THEOLOGIE DES ALTEN TESTAMENTS. Band I, *Die Theologie der geschichtlichen Überlieferungen Israels*. By Gerhard von Rad. Munich: Christian Kaiser Verlag, 1957. 472 pp., DM 24.00.

A frontispiece in Vriezen's work quotes from the conclusion of H. Wheeler Robinson's *Inspiration and Revelation in the Old Testament*:

A theology of the Old Testament will have to be rewritten in each generation, for each

has different needs and each will interpret the past in its own characteristic way. But it will have its inevitable poles around which all else turns. Over against each other are God and man, and all that lies between can be conceived as belonging to the Kingdom—the active kingly rule—of God.

The four works under consideration here amply illustrate the fact that such variations will not only appear in the works of succeeding generations, but in those of contemporaries as well. Even so, nearly a quarter of a century is represented here: the first edition of the first volume of Eichrodt's theology appeared in 1933, the original Dutch edition of Vriezen's work came out in 1949, while those of Rowley and von Rad are quite recent.

Other factors beside their different environments and their varying approaches to the subject of Old Testament theology make a comparison of these four volumes difficult. Only the first volumes of von Rad's and Eichrodt's works (that is, of the latter in the new fifth edition) are available, and the other two are admittedly only overviews or sketches of the subject. All this must be carefully borne in mind if our comparisons are not to become altogether invidious.

Perhaps a chronological procedure (in terms of first editions) will be as objective as any. At the head of the list, then, is WALTER EICHRODT's *magnum opus*—as it was, in fact, the first Old Testament theology worthy of note to appear since the modern revival of interest in that subject. As the author points out in the preface to the fifth edition, the original work has not been altered materially except in such areas as cultic influences on prophetism and kingship, as demanded by recent investigations and approaches. Usually extended footnotes are employed to call the reader's attention to the more recent literature, followed often by brief evaluations and observations on the part of the author.

This means that the virtues and weaknesses (the latter relatively minor) of the book are approximately the same as upon first appearance. Here and there one may suspect that the earliness of original authorship is betrayed by this or that isagogical verdict, and certain battles against earlier idealism are past, although hardly *passé* (cf. perhaps the repeated, almost monotonous stress on the I-Thou relationship between God and the believer). Because of its con-

tinued intrinsic merit as well as because of its historical value as a courageous, pioneering document, one can only wonder that no English publisher has yet undertaken a translation, and we sincerely hope that such a venture will be underwritten shortly.

In his attempt to avoid a dogmatic approach to Old Testament theology, Eichrodt focuses his material about the idea of the covenant. In the first volume he discusses, among other things, (1) the meaning and development of the covenant idea in Old Testament thought, (2) the statutes (*Satzungen*) of the covenant, including jurisprudence and the cultus, (3) the various names applied to the God of the covenant, (4) the nature and attributes (?) of this God, (5) the organs of the covenant, including both the more charismatic types such as the "judges," the *Nebiim*, and the classical prophets as well as the institutional leaders (priests and kings), (6) judgment as a result of violation of the covenant, and (7) the consummation of the covenant (including excellent discussions of Messianism and prophecy-fulfillment).

This arrangement enables the author to treat his material with great empathy, although there are times when even its partial artificiality becomes apparent. Furthermore, so much attention is devoted to the phenomenological aspects of Israel's religion that the title of the work may be a bit misleading: in some respects we have here more of a background to Old Testament theology than a theology itself—which, however, is not to disparage its nearly encyclopedic or concordant value at times—and always in intimate connection with theological issues. At the same time, detailed attention is given to the materials of comparative religion, both with the intent to illustrate Israel's dependence on and involvement in its environment and also, conversely, to demonstrate how Israel's unique faith usually completely "baptized" and reworked what it inherited from its neighbors. This holds true especially in the treatments of the priesthood and cultus.

Eichrodt rather strictly delimits the cultic connections of the prophets (p. 207 ff.) in explicit rejection of recent Scandinavian emphases. On the other hand, he is eminently successful in tracing the roots of classical prophetism in and through earlier Mosaism and Nebiism. In general, we feel that Eichrodt's treatment of this entire subject is not excelled even by many works devoted exclusively to that topic.

The author is also, finally, at pains to illustrate the incompleteness of the Old Testament and its forward movement toward the New Testament. The nature of the organic connection between the testaments is treated explicitly and quite satisfyingly in the final pages of Vol. I (p. 343 ff.). In the body of the work, then, Eichrodt deals not so much with the specifics of a "fulfillment" as with the provisional character of many of the Old Testament themes, and especially with their truncation and perversion in intertestamental Judaism, such as only the New Testament could remedy.

The latter topic, recognized by Eichrodt as a legitimate concern, becomes almost the focus of VRIEZEN'S attention. Vriezen groups his material about the idea of the new relationship wrought between God and man in Old Testament thought, thus enabling him both to find a unifying thread in its various fluctuations and to demonstrate its climax in Christ. This dominant interest is evinced, first of all, by the fact that nearly one-third of the book is devoted to "prolegomena," and, in general, one might say that the work has more the character of a hermeneutics than of a theology of the Old Testament, as we ordinarily understand that term. This will also account for the apologetic—if not, at times, polemic—cast of much of the work.

Vriezen's highly conservative approach enables him to handle lucidly and competently many themes which other Old Testament theologies treat rather cursorily, especially the unity in diversity of the biblical message and the tensions between them, and also to register a sound corrective to the arbitrariness and excrescences of at least much earlier scholarship. On the other hand, while he clearly stresses the indispensability of the historico-critical method, many readers will feel that the author has almost lapsed into a certain traditionalism at times. One senses this, perhaps, *inter alia*, in the repeated and almost too-facile dismissal of the *religions-geschichtliche* materials, in an unusually strong accent on the prophets and their stamp upon the entire Old Testament (matched, naturally, by a severe minimization of the historical and theological importance of the cultus), his stress on Old Testament individualism and repeated reservations about Pedersen's *Israel* (some of them well taken, to be sure), and in many isagogical and exegetical details (e.g., are the Servant Songs as well integrated in

Old Testament history and theology as they might be?).

Vriezen's traditional sympathies may also appear in his arrangement of the material, which is only a variation on the common "theology, anthropology, soteriology" order. However, in general he strives to use the biblical categories, and many fine word studies of the biblical vocabulary result. In general, then, it is not our desire to derogate a work which every student of the Old Testament will read with great profit. We are not condescending when we suggest that it would be an excellent first work to place into the hands of those inveterate conservatives who still remain suspicious of modern approaches and disciplines. In addition, Vriezen's concern that the Old Testament not only be a mine for academic researches but that it also be preached upon will recommend it to the pastor, for whose sake especially speedy translation into English is imperative.

H. H. ROWLEY's manual will, to a slightly lesser degree, serve much the same introductory purpose. Its intended scope is not even as ambitious as Vriezen's work, and, of course, it must be judged accordingly. Perhaps it will not be captious to note here and there possible evidences of the haste in preparation for which the author asks to be excused in his preface (pp. 9-10). This work presents to the public Rowley's Sprunt Lectures in 1955 at Union Theological Seminary, Richmond, Virginia. With the author's usual mastery at popularization we find here discussions of some of the major topics of Old Testament theology: the means of revelation, theology proper, anthropology, ethics, and eschatology. Usually no attempt is made to venture into the wider theological and hermeneutical issues, but the excellent summary of the topics, as far as covered, will nevertheless prove helpful to the specialist and invaluable to the novice. The book is a worthy expression of its author's stature, and the extensive footnotes (buttressed by excellent indexes) will stimulate many readers to dig deeper.

Fittingly we turn last to GERHARD VON RAD's work as to a climax—or, at least, to a new departure in the history of Old Testament theologies. Its approach is indicated by the subtitle and may be styled "überlieferungsgeschichtlich," reflecting an approach to the entire study of the Old Testament to which the author (like Martin Noth) has made signal contributions. Hence, to a

far greater degree than with the other works under review here, von Rad's theology presupposes considerable acquaintance with recent developments in Old Testament scholarship as well as with the intricacies of the Old Testament itself. In the same proportion, then, that we hesitate to recommend it to the novice in the field, we can assure anyone with above-average interests in this field of great stimulation.

Von Rad scrupulously avoids the systematizations with which the other theologies operate because he feels that they inevitably fail to correspond with the historical *Sitz im Leben* out of which Old Testament theology itself grew. As a result von Rad is unusually successful in exorcising modern concepts which are inevitably read back into the ancient sources. Instead, he accents the literary and historical aspects of the Old Testament revelation and demonstrates the theology inherent in the formation of the ancient traditions in a way that has not been done before.

Part I of the book consists of a succinct summary of the history of the Yahwistic faith and of its sacral institutions, and this as a preliminary to part II with its consideration of the theology of the Hexateuch, of that reflected in Israel's anointed leaders (including the kings), and of Israel's response to Yahweh's revelation, especially in the Psalter and the products of the Wisdom schools. (The prophets receive only passing consideration in this scheme; they are to be considered, presumably climactically, in Vol. II). At the beginning of part II and again at the beginning of certain subdivisions von Rad places quite lengthy "methodological considerations," indicating the stress he places upon methodology. Thus von Rad can illustrate throughout his work the *geschichtstheologisch* nature of Israel's faith, its historical basis as well as the extent to which the confessional concerns of the *tradentes* have helped shape the *traditio*. As a result, this work will sometimes overlap more with commentaries and introductions than the precedings works, but by the same token it probably represents the most constructive and comprehensive use yet of the various disciplines such as form, literary, tradition, and historical criticism.

"Progressive revelation" assumes a somewhat different and far more profound meaning here than in ecclesiastical tradition, precisely because exegesis is made so relevant for

dogmatics by this approach which lucidly illustrates the interpenetration of revelation and history. At the same time new approaches toward traditional concerns with the unity, uniqueness, and "inerrancy" of Scripture are indicated. Theology and *Religionsgeschichte* (in the less pagan connotations of the term) are integrated to such an extent that the old hostility between the two seems to be entirely resolved in the paradoxical unity of faith. Not only the historical, but also the cultic and priestly roles are accentuated to an extent which is not true of other Old Testament theologies.

One may hope that the second volume considers questions of prophecy and fulfillment and of general relationship to the New Testament, which are hardly broached at all in Vol. I. One may often inquire also how much of a given tradition is *confessio* and how much objective history, and what objective controls may be developed to prevent the distinction from becoming entirely arbitrary. However much readers may disagree at certain points, the unflinching manner in which von Rad has faced up to these problems will probably guarantee his work's standing as a landmark for some time to come.

Which of the above four works is to be recommended to the reader will depend largely upon his own interests, background, and time. All, however, will stand the reader in good stead, and all will enhance his comprehension of both the historical setting of the Old Testament revelation and the conditioned nature of many of its ideas, as well as its timeless value, especially in the light of its fulfillment and incarnation in our Lord.

HORACE D. HUMMEL

Aids to New Testament Study

THE NEW TESTAMENT BACKGROUND. *Selected Documents.* By C. K. Barrett. London: S.P.C.K., 1957. xxiv and 276 pp., 21s.

STATISTIK DES NEUTESTAMENTLICHEN WORTSCHATZES. By Robert Morgenthaler. Zurich: Gotthelf-Verlag, 1958. 188 pp., DM 28.85, S.Fr. 29.85.

DIE APOKRYPHEN SCHRIFTEN ZUM NEUEN TESTAMENT. *Edited by Wilhelm Michaelis.* Bremen: Carl Schünemann Verlag, 1956. xxiv and 484 pp., DM 13.80.

In his significant commentary on John (London: S.P.C.K., 1955) C. K. BARRETT demonstrated that even in theological interpretation of the New Testament the use of material from the world of the New Testament can yield rich returns. His aim in this collection of 235 selected documents (most of which are given in translations already extant) is to further the study of this background for its own sake for once. Actually the selection has to a great extent been made with an eye to the bearing the material has on the New Testament—and rightly so, as is shown by Barrett's explanatory comments. Although containing a number of philological notes, his remarks presuppose no acquaintance on the part of the reader with the original languages of the sources. Each chapter has a general introduction and each of the sections a special one. Barrett comments on the texts, so far as necessary and possible, in explanations of varying length. In addition, at the beginning of the book he characterizes the sources included and draws attention to supplementary literature.

The first chapter contains material pertaining to the history of the Roman Empire from Augustus to Domitian, the majority of it taken from Tacitus and Suetonius. The corresponding part on Jewish history (chapter 7), to which Barrett understandably devotes much more space (pp. 105-266), opens with the Maccabees and closes with the revolt of Bar Cochba (almost all of the material being taken from 1 Macc. and Josephus). The chapter on the papyri begins with a selection from Pliny's *Natural History* on the preparation and use of papyrus, follows with an introduction to the form and style of letter writing in the ancient world, gives a few religious texts and quite a number on contemporary social and economic life. The chapter on "The Philosophers" leans, quite naturally, toward the Stoics.

In "The Hermetic Literature" Barrett gives his own translation of about two-thirds of the *Poimandres*. Chapter 6, "Mystery Religions," has six sizable texts, among them Josephus' account of the seduction of Paulina, which could well have been dispensed with. Chapter 8 (pp. 139-172) introduces a number of important rabbis, characterizes the teaching

methods and theology of rabbinic Judaism and offers texts on worship, the conduct of capital trials, etc. In the chapter on Philo his positive relation to the Jewish faith is underlined.

Chapter 10, "Josephus," properly includes selections from Josephus which pertain to John the Baptist, Jesus and James as well as some from his apologetical writing. In place of the biographical material on Josephus, I would have preferred something more on the religious life of the Jews in the dispersion, taken either from Philo or from inscriptions. The chapter "Inscriptions" contains little on the subject; Claudius' letter to the city of Alexandria, in the chapter on the papyri, bears significantly on the situation of the Jews in the dispersion, however. Some material on the subject is offered in "The Septuagint" (which chapter also gives the accounts from Philo and the *Epistle to Aristaeas* of the supposed origin of the Septuagint).

Chapter 12 does an excellent job of making the literary forms of apocalyptic stand out clearly and of drawing out ideas of particular importance in apocalyptic (pp. 227-255). The appendix contains portions of the *Zadokite Fragments* and the *Manual of Discipline*.

Barrett's book does indeed fill a noticeable gap. In addition to its on the whole very satisfactory selection of texts, its particular value lies above all in the editor's explanatory remarks, especially those that introduce the material. The book is not only a collection of documents pertaining to the background of the New Testament; it is a partial record of the history of the New Testament world as well. The texts are an indispensable aid to understanding that world, especially when they are read under the guidance of someone as competent and sensible as Barrett.

For some time now statistics on the vocabulary of different New Testament authors have been used in both the literary criticism and interpretation of certain New Testament writings. Up till now these observations from statistics have usually been based on figures compiled more or less with certain ends in view; the compilations were made with reference to rather limited areas and therefore contained some material that was fortuitous. ROBERT MORGENTHALE's *Statistik* is the first work to offer complete statistics on the 5,436 different vocables of the New Testament

distributed under the various writings (pp. 66-157). (Of the 5,436 vocables, 1,934 appear only once, only 1,000 or so appear more than 10 times and only 300 or so appear more than 50 times; only a very small number is common to all the writings or all the groups of writings.) The same system is followed in distributing the various pronouns according to case, many forms of "to be," the prepositions according to the case they govern and according to their composites, and other material of particular interest.

As if this were not enough, Morgenthaler utilizes these basic statistics in additional tables which offer (often very compactly) a great number of various insights into the different writers' use of Greek and make it possible to draw comparisons between them. One can see, for instance, how and exactly to what extent the various parts of speech are distributed among the different writings, which words are used in these most frequently, which are especially characteristic of them, etc. The statistics on the relation of New Testament vocabulary to that outside Christianity are also given, with special attention being paid to the Septuagint (exact and approximate figures on the vocabulary of the Septuagint are also included in the basic table). A table at the end of the volume shows graphically the variations from one chapter of a book to another in the use of the article, of "and," of "he," "she," "it," etc. and of "but."

It is impossible to give even a sketch of all the material offered or of Morgenthaler's evaluation of the tables in his commentary on pp. 11-63. The commentary contains, for one thing, important results of the author's work on the statistics of New Testament words. Not a few of them bring surprises; some will have to stand the test of criticism; others substantiate results of New Testament isagogics and philology. Thus both the content and the methodology of the *Statistik* stimulate one to do his own work on the tables, the full import of which it was impossible for Morgenthaler to exhaust.

Not the least important feature of the book is that Morgenthaler himself makes clear the dangers of hasty utilization of isolated statistical observations in literary criticism or exegesis. In general results can be taken seriously where sizable texts could be compared. If the texts being compared are of various lengths, one should take this very much into consideration in any use one

makes of statistics (cf. Morgenthauer's remarks on "the relativity of the statistics"). Fruitful as statistics can be for New Testament study, in utilizing them one must constantly keep in mind results that have been acquired in other ways. Morgenthauer's commentary on the texts illustrates this principle very well. One must always ask, e.g., whether peculiarities in the content of a particular writing are the primary factor in accounting for the distinctive statistics on that writing. Finally, the proper use of statistics on words very often requires that these be supplemented by statistics on the meanings of the words which the user must compile himself in each individual case with the help of a concordance. For if the meaning of a particular word is not the same in two different writings, its use in the one may have a significance quite different from its use in the other.

Congratulations are to be extended to New Testament scholarship as well as to the author upon the completion of this extremely difficult and complicated piece of work (a work, incidentally, whose arrangement greatly facilitates its use). Morgenthauer has given New Testament scholarship a tool it has long desired and which, if properly used, will yield rich theological returns. For the person out to make discoveries in the New Testament, the tables in Morgenthauer's *Statistik* will make exciting reading.

WILHELM MICHAELIS' *Die Apokryphen Schriften* is intended primarily for non-theologians, but it is useful also for theologians and pastors as a first introduction to the peculiar world of popular piety of the second to fourth centuries A.D. which has left a record of itself in the so-called New Testament apocrypha. In the introduction Michaelis outlines the purpose of the work and discusses the most important of the "scattered sayings of our Lord" [i.e., those not recorded in the New Testament]. He is reluctant to concede the possibility of ascribing this or that *agraphon* to Jesus. The main part of the book treats the four groups of apocryphal writings: gospels, acts of apostles, letters and revelations. Each of the four groups is preceded by a general introduction discussing that particular category of writing and those writings which belong to the category but have been omitted. For each of the writings included a special introduction is given (filling approximately 125 pages altogether). The translations are

followed by explanatory remarks (covering about 60 pages) on particular passages.

Michaelis has included in their entirety primarily those writings which he feels we have reason to believe originated in the second century (although they may "not always have been preserved" in their original versions). These are: the fragments of the Apocalypse of Peter and the Gospel of Peter discovered at Akhmim, the "Protoevangelium" of James, the Gospel of Thomas, the Gospel of Nicodemus, Pilate's letter to Claudius, the exchange of letters between Jesus and King Abgar of Edessa, the "more important fragments" of the Gospels of the Nazarenes, the Ebionites and the Hebrews, the Acts of Paul and Thecla and the Martyrdom of Paul, the Acts of Thomas (1-16 and 106-113) and sizable selections from the Acts of John, Peter (according to the Latin *Actus Vercellenses*) and Andrew. All are given in Michaelis' own translation which reproduces the original as literally as possible but also tries to be as intelligible as possible. There are brief descriptions of the content of those portions which have not been translated.

Michaelis' presentation presupposes nothing more than a general knowledge of the New Testament. He tries to avoid words not native to the German language and those which he cannot avoid but are of importance he explains. He gives in the first instance the literary data for each of the writings. Often he gives something from the history of scholarship in this area, and where the occasion arises something on the use of older writings in the ones we possess today, or on the transmission of the texts (in various versions and translations) and the relation of the texts to one another. He then gives his conclusions and (occasionally at some length) the reasoning behind them. Throughout there is no lack of useful references to the more recent literature in the field.

Michaelis naturally makes reference to specific points to the relation of the content of these apocrypha to the canonical writings of the New Testament, i.e., to the very limited connections between the two. He also attempts to place the writings geographically and chronologically and to determine their place in the devotional life of Christians through the ages and their relation to gnosticism especially. He shows furthermore the place of these writings in the church and appraises them from a literary point of view.

One of Michaelis' concerns is to give valid and objective reasons for setting these writings clearly apart from the New Testament and the Apostolic Fathers. The apocryphal gospels, he says, are separated from the canonical gospels "by an interval of several decades" and the interval between the apocryphal acts and the canonical Acts is "considerably greater." The apocrypha, it is true, "employ the same literary genres found in the New Testament" but they treat the traditions without restraint, "without a full and direct connection with the historical events." The apocrypha seek to establish the legitimacy of their own viewpoints by trying to show that these derive from Jesus or the apostles. The apocryphal acts seek in addition to satisfy the desire for entertainment. Even pronouncedly heathen influences are evident, sometimes in considerable degree. In the few apocalypses that stand on their own feet Jewish apocalyptic crowds out New Testament eschatology. Thus Michaelis finds in the apocrypha "a faulty development." He frequently takes the opportunity, however, to call attention at specific points also to positive characteristics of the type of piety which these writings represent.

One of the merits of this fine book is of course that it makes accessible to a wider circle of readers a certain expression of Christianity in the ancient church, one which (as becomes evident in reading Michaelis) did not merely lie solely on the periphery, which in fact exercised an influence even upon the art of the Middle Ages (as Michaelis points out here and there). Michaelis is of course more concerned about elaborating the profound differences between this class of literature and the New Testament (even in the infancy narratives) not only in the theology and piety of each but also in the way each deals with the material which had been handed down. A more precise comparison, from the form-critical standpoint, of the New Testament and these writings might perhaps reveal that their content influenced the molding of the forms in the New Testament to a certain extent. Such influence is a factor which form criticism is often in the habit of overlooking.

GERHARD DELLING

CORRESPONDENCE

Reply to Dr. Wischmann

Sir:

May I make the following observations on Dr. Adolf Wischmann's "Report on the Present Situation" in Latin America which appeared in the *Lutheran World*, June, 1958?

Dr. Wischmann refers to the conflicting statements made at Edinburgh in 1910 and recently in Ghana concerning the appropriateness of Protestant mission work in Latin America. It cannot be emphasized too strongly that the Ghana conference has the right idea. The average Latin American is in as woeful a religious state as was the average European in the decades before the Reformation. The religious ignorance of the masses is unbelievable. They have not the slightest idea of the content of the Bible nor of what the Christian faith is all about. If Evangelical mission work is not necessary in Latin America, then the Reformation of the 16th century was not necessary either. This I say in all seriousness and in spite of any talk there may be of the Roman church's "evangelizing itself" in Latin America.

Dr. Wischmann proceeds to wonder if the Lutheran churches of Latin America give too little "living testimony" of the presence of Christians in Latin America. He says that the meeting of the Committee on Latin America in Dubuque, Iowa, criticized the "Volkskirche" in Latin America for too little mission work and for lack of interest in public affairs. The truth of the matter is that these churches have limited their activity almost completely to the German immigrants and their descendants. They have made practically no effort to proclaim the gospel to the millions of Latins who live without it. The German pastors who labour so arduously in Latin America must not be very strongly condemned for this. Considering their limited number, they have had more than enough to do. However, the fact remains that the "Volkskirche" has not approached the Latins. What is the reason? Is it that in Europe the mistaken idea of Edinburgh has prevailed?

In his report Dr. Wischmann says that at Dubuque it was decided that the LWF and the church in Germany had no ideological conceptions which they wanted to see realized in Central and South America, that they were going to leave the future in God's hands and

wait to see how he chose to direct the ways of the churches and congregations in Latin America. It seems strange that the church of Christ should have no ideological conception of its goal. Christ himself gave the church her task: "Go and preach the gospel to every creature." This must be the goal of the Lutheran church in Latin America—preach the gospel to the millions here who live without it in spite of the fact that they are baptized and are formally members of the Roman church. In other words, our task is, at long last, to bring the Reformation to Latin America and not merely to live here as ecclesiastical groups insulated by language and nationalism from the religious life of the masses, as groups whose missionary interest does not extend beyond the limits imposed by language and national ties.

Dr. Wischmann raises the question as to whether the Caracas model is the panacea for our ecclesiastical ills. Contrary to his opinion, there are many North Americans who raise the same question. I am sure that the majority of the North Americans are of the opinion that the real goal is to create Spanish-speaking Lutheran churches as soon as practicable, which decidedly does not mean clinging to various foreign tongues for generations after all the members speak Spanish fluently and use it regularly in their everyday life. There is no better way than this to frustrate the efforts of the gospel to contact the Latin masses.

The statement that without the European immigrants there would be no middle class in Latin America is not true, at least for Argentina as anyone who spends a few weeks here can see for himself. I do not know where Dr. Wischmann got his statistics for the constituency of the Iglesia Evangélica Luterana Unida in Argentina. He says it has 5,000 members, three-fourths of which are mainly of German origin. According to the statistical report of this church for 1957, it has 3,786 baptized members and 2,540 confirmed members. There are a total of 13 congregations in which the Spanish language only is used; 6 congregations in which German is used, although in some of these Spanish is also used; and in addition there is one congregation each in which Hungarian, Slovak, Latvian and Estonian are used. In analyzing the membership, we find that the congregations using Spanish have a total membership of 1,321;

those using mainly German a membership of 582; those using other foreign languages a membership of 637. If we allow that 20 per cent of the members of the Spanish speaking congregations are of German origin, we see that 1,057 of the members of the Unida, or slightly over 40 per cent are of Latin origin. These figures are quite different from the ones quoted by Dr. Wischmann. Would it be remiss to desire a bit more accuracy from visiting churchmen? I hope I will not be accused of too much partisanship when I state that the Unida, in spite of her many faults, is one of the Lutheran churches in Central and South America that is making a serious effort to proclaim the gospel to the Latin inhabitants of the region.

In the article under discussion, Dr. Wischmann states that the bilingual approach is the first solution to the language problem. With this I am in full agreement. However, I think it is permissible to desire a bit less foot-dragging in this respect. It is noted with satisfaction in many quarters that the German Evangelical Synod of the River Plate is now using the bilingual approach and that the Brazilian Church is over 50 per cent Portuguese. Let us hope that many other churches of German origin follow the same course.

In continuing his remarks on the language problem, Dr. Wischmann says that it is extremely difficult to translate the Reformation message into Spanish. The difficulty of translating such profound concepts into any language is not to be denied. But, as Dr. Béla Leskó and Dr. Vilmos Vajta point out in the same issue of the *Lutheran World*, it is possible and necessary to put the Reformation message into Spanish. To deny that it is possible is to say that the work of the Holy Spirit can be impeded by such human barriers as language. The same thing was said about English a century or so ago, but I do not think that it can be seriously contended today that the Reformation cannot speak adequately in English. I can imagine that centuries ago when the Christian message was being carried to Germany there were some stay-at-homes in Italy who insisted Christianity could not speak in German but only in Latin.

Dr. Wischmann's remarks concerning the attitude of the North Americans to church festivals merit a few words. The North Americans condemn them *only* if they are used as money-making schemes, which is, unhappily, all too often the case. To use

them for this purpose shows an extremely faulty understanding of Christian stewardship. Space does not permit an exposition of this statement. Anyone who wishes to enlighten himself has only to read the voluminous and theologically well-grounded literature on stewardship which has been produced in North America.

The German churches, according to Dr. Wischmann, exercise an indirect mission activity by the very fact that they exist and that in them love and hope are seen in action and the word of God is proclaimed. True, such indirect mission activity can be very valuable, but the effect upon the masses is practically nil if the activity and proclamation are done in a language that the masses do not understand.

In his report Dr. Wischmann states the undisputed fact that the churches in Germany do much to help their brothers in Latin America. He speaks specifically of the sending of pastors. It seems inexplicable that he does not at least mention the possibility of training pastors here in Latin America instead of depending on importing them from Europe. As Dr. Wischmann well knows, there exists near Buenos Aires a Lutheran Theological Faculty which gives a sound theological education to men preparing for the Lutheran ministry, the study of Hebrew, Greek and modern languages being required, and whose students are well-grounded in the theological scholarship of the past and kept abreast of that of today. Unfortunately, the German churches have taken very small advantage of this opportunity to prepare men for their congregations. Dr. Wischmann states that one of the most important demands of the moment is the dissociation of Latin American churches from alien models and ideologies. With this I am in complete agreement, but it will be practically impossible to achieve this end as long as these churches depend on pastors imported from Europe.

We in Latin America note with great joy the active interest that world Lutheranism is taking in the work here. It is only through reports and dialogues such as this that the aims and methods can be clarified. May the Holy Spirit guide and strengthen us to fulfill the will of our Lord.

JOSEPH H. DEIBERT

José C. Paz, Argentina

Pastors and Physicians

Sir: I was probably not the only one who welcomed most heartily the publication of the article by Granger Westberg in the December issue of the *Lutheran World* on cooperation between pastors and physicians. The discussion of this question within Lutheranism should not come to an end with this article, however.

The work that Professor Westberg describes is today probably being carried out in one form or another in the "Christian" countries of the West. Among both theologians and physicians there are hardly any objections to a cooperation in principle which are worthy of serious consideration. But the whole problem—one which we have been working on in Germany for about ten years—gets wrapped up in difficulties when it comes to realizing the cooperation in practice. While in virtually all areas we Lutherans have availed ourselves of the ecumenical experiences of other churches and countries, there has been in the Lutheran church, as far as I can tell, no conscious attempt to do the same in regard to cooperation between medicine and theology. (The story in, say, the Church of England is totally different.) Overlooking now the fact that the Roman Catholic Church is working very purposefully in this area, it cannot be overlooked that in the Evangelical pastor's work with the sick both inside and outside the hospital there are certain questions where confessional issues are involved. I am not thinking now of confessionalism: I agree with Prof. Westberg completely when he describes the favorable impression created in a hospital when pastors of different denominations work in cooperation. But there are certain points of departure which have quite definite practical consequences and are essentially confessionally conditioned. Our interpretation of creation and the First Article, for example, is decisive for our views on psychotherapy. The view we hold of predestination has not a little to do with the question of ethical decision. Our theology of sin, forgiveness, baptismal grace or conversion can have a very significant influence upon both the pastor's psychotherapeutic and pastoral approach to the sick person. Therefore it does not appear to me out of place if conscious efforts are also made in the Lutheran churches to further discussion between physicians and pastors.

It is gratifying to note that Westberg's article describes a situation in which work was undertaken to meet a need and led to good results. Similar work has been carried on in Denmark and Sweden for some time now. In the Netherlands, as far as I know, two chairs of pastoral psychology have been established; in addition medical courses are required of theological students, and theological courses are offered to medical students. In Germany it is mainly those working on Dr. I. Scharfenberg's magazine *Wege zum Menschen*, its readers, and the group "Physicians and Pastors," who concern themselves about the things Westberg touches upon. Despite a large number of working meetings and conferences the work has not advanced in Germany as much as we might have wished. In particular, the German universities have still not included in the regular curriculum lectures addressed equally to theological and medical students. The mistrust of the medical faculties is on the whole greater than that of the theologians.

Unfortunately Westberg reports only on cooperation between pastors and doctors in the hospital. That seems to me questionable. The people who show up frequently in the psychiatrist's office, and occasionally in the pastor's office, deserve in a special way the care of both a doctor and a pastor. In practice there is no possibility of the pastor's or the doctor's referring their callers to the other party by handing him a card giving the details of name, address and telephone number. Apart from certain exceptions (in West Berlin and in Düsseldorf, e.g., where much has been accomplished in this respect) virtually everything remains to be done in this area. But then all the questions which have been agitating us for the last ten years immediately arise: How does one avoid the danger of theologizing doctors and psychologizing pastors? How does one control Enthusiasm on both sides? What degree of professional knowledge is necessary on both sides and how is it best acquired? Is it possible and in order to establish case conferences, such as are indispensable on a medical team, also between pastors and physicians?

In addition to these practical considerations some basic questions emerge: What do medicine and theology say about life and death? What is death? In questions of morals, law and ethics, where do the boundaries lie? What are sin, guilt, forgiveness? And finally, at the sickbed, what is truth? All these ques-

tions have of course been treated in numberless papers and conferences. What seems to me to be lacking however are the following things:

(1) A clear delineation of what each side really demands of the other. On the part of theology a definite statement, oriented to the Lutheran confession, cannot be avoided. It is not a question of which articles of the Augsburg Confession are concerned but, as we said above, of the conception which the Lutheran church should have of the First Article.

(2) A much broader ecumenical interchange of information about cooperation between physicians and pastors. As far as I know, at the Ecumenical Institute at Bossey two courses relating to this subject have been conducted. What is urgently needed is a meeting between, say, American physicians who are working with pastors on the one hand, and, on the other, German physicians and pastors who have the same goal in view. Granger Westberg should be brought to Europe for several months on an exchange!

(3) A binding discussion between church officials and medical and theological faculties about the possibility of giving students definite foundations for later professional encounters. At a conference of physicians and pastors at the Evangelical Academy of Berlin-Brandenburg in 1951, ten guiding principles were worked out along this line; these were presented in the same year to a conference of pastors and physicians in Bossey. Since then they have been resting peacefully somewhere in the oblivion of someone's files.

I should like to thank the editor once again for the fact that a question which concerns us all has been broached in the journal of world Lutheranism. What I should like to request is that this problem be discussed further, both the theoretical aspects and the practical consequences for the Lutheran World Federation.

HANS JOACHIM THILO

Geneva

"The Catholic Problem in the Present Day"

Sir:

The articles on Roman Catholicism in the June issue of the *Lutheran World* prompt me to make some remarks on "the Catholic

problem in the present day." I shall not attempt to speak about the Catholic problem as we confront it all over the world. I shall rather limit myself to the situation in Germany, but not without casting a side glance at non-German churches both in and outside Europe. I confess it is my conviction that the problem is nowhere as pressing as it is in West Germany. I am also aware, however, that I may be overlooking things in other countries which are no less important, for developments proceed at such a rapid rate that it is difficult to keep abreast of them and of all the factors that should be taken into account in considering this problem.

(1) The peculiar thing about the Catholic problem today is that we are confronted with *two* claims to Catholicity, the Roman claim and that of the Moscow group. This is in itself a logical inconsistency, because Catholicity is always only *one*. But in the area of experience we now find it to be a fact that we have *more* than one claim to Catholicity to reckon with. There is not only Rome with its claim, but alongside Rome and disputing its claim, Moscow. In Germany, now, while relations with Catholic Rome have grown quite tepid, for the most part, those with Catholic Moscow have become increasingly cordial. What is particularly astonishing about this fact is that Moscow does not impress German Protestants as being Catholic. But this does not appear to be a merely German phenomenon. The obviously very careful reporting of the Protestant Press Service of Germany (*epd*) in recent months reveals that the Moscow church [*die Moskauer Kirche*] was not regarded as an essentially Catholic phenomenon either at its meeting with World Council representatives in Utrecht or at the meeting of the Central Committee in Nyborg.

This state of affairs introduces a completely new element for us Germans, and for the rest of the world as well, it would seem. In the future, "Catholic" and "Protestant" will no longer be two foci of an ellipse but three sides of a triangle, something I attempted to indicate a few years ago when I entitled one of my books *Rom-Wittenberg-Moskau*. [See the review by Hans H. Weissgerber, "Protestant, Catholic, Roman," in *Lutheran World*, IV, 3, Dec., 1957, p. 329. Ed.] This fact, that the Catholic-Protestant question will in future always be shared by three parties, no intelligent person will dispute any longer. The only question now is what consequences should be drawn from it. The sooner we come to rec-

ognize that Moscow is Catholic, the better it will be for our thought and action. As long as we keep in mind that Moscow is Catholic, we shall avoid a great many detours.

(2) The first problem confronting all of us is that of the unity of Christendom. "The first problem"—that is to say, "the chief problem." But "first" also means there is no other problem that takes precedence in time over this one. We cannot seek for a theological or practical "advantage," i.e. a problem we could tackle before we turn our attention to the unity of Christendom. The call to unity is most certainly in order. It is equally true, however, that our conceptions of what "the unity of Christendom" is are not clear, for the phrase means something different to each of the three main groups. Rome's concept of what the phrase means is perhaps the clearest, but, as we shall see, it too appears to be clearer than it really is.

When Rome speaks of "the unity of Christendom" it has in mind a Christendom united under the pope. This appears to be a very clear conception. Yet in discussing with Roman Catholic friends what it would mean in practice, one notices that even at very high levels there is no clear picture of what the conception really means. It is, to state it briefly, a dogmatic demand the practical consequences of which have not been thought through. Subjection to the pope is at least conceivable if one takes a church such as the Church of England—that the Anglicans do not want that is another matter. But even if subjection to the pope were in the realm of discussion for other churches, how churches constituted as synods could be fitted into the structure of the Roman Catholic Church has up to the present not been at all conceivable. And yet if such a problem actually became acute, Rome could not and would not bypass this concrete task. After all, all the officials and employees of a church could not simply be sent home!

In the Orthodox church, and particularly in the Moscow church, the situation is even more difficult. It is certain that in drawing closer to the West the Moscow church *does* have the unity of Christendom in mind, as Metropolitan Nikolai has clearly indicated (see *Evangelisch-Lutherische Kirchenzeitung*, XII, 14, July 15, 1958, p. 221). But this unity can be conceived of only in two ways: either the Moscow church conforms to Western thought, or the ecumenical world conforms to

that of the Moscow church. Metropolitan Nikolai made it clear that it is the Orthodox church which embodies the fullness of the Christian faith. The conclusion would be that the churches constituting the World Council of Churches would have to fit themselves into the structure of the Orthodox church. That would certainly be a good Orthodox view, and there are theologians in Germany who at least entertain such a possibility. The writings of Hans Dombois on this subject can be explained in no other way. On the other hand, now, the Moscow church is moving closer to the sphere of the World Council. The negotiations at Utrecht and the action at Nyborg may have been ever so circumspect and cautious, they are nevertheless facts of church history which it would be difficult to repeal.

This leads us to the question of what possibilities are offered by the WCC for bringing about unity. The strength of the WCC is that it does not ask too much of any of its member churches. It is a very loose combination of churches. Therefore any ecclesiastical fellowship can belong to it. Yet this is a conception with considerable weaknesses. For obviously Rome cannot be a member of this organization. It is certainly looking at it superficially to say: since Rome does not belong to the World Council, we are not obligated to concern ourselves further about Rome. On the basis of the principles of the WCC, it must even be conceded to Rome that it wants to remain true to itself. If it is seen that Rome believes that it cannot be true to itself if it joins the World Council, then we must seek other paths to unity.

I say this for two reasons. Let us suppose that Rome were ready to join the WCC. That would mean that the World Council would experience a Roman invasion of such proportions that the present member churches of the council would constitute a mere appendage to the Roman church. This follows from the relative sizes of the Roman Catholic Church and of the Protestant * churches which now constitute the WCC. To call for Rome's participation in the WCC would be unrealistic from the point of view of the ecumenical movement. We cannot here go into the question to what extent the history

* Sic: *evangelisch*. Non-Protestant churches have belonged to the World Council ever since its formation. (Translator).

of German Christendom in the last two decades suggests other possibilities.

Secondly, now, it should be evident that the Moscow church, if it wishes to remain true to itself, should have the same reservations about membership in the WCC that Rome has. Even if in the history of his church God often works in devious ways, this gives us no right to try and make that a matter of calculation. It would be foolish not to want to see that the Orthodox church has obligations to itself of the same kind that Rome has to itself; in degree those of the former may be somewhat less restricted than those of the latter.

(3) In all the negotiations of the Protestant churches with Moscow, Rome is the silent partner. The day is coming—and by the inner laws of the spirit and of history it must come soon—when Rome declares itself on the Moscow church. Theologically matters seem to be clear: in Rome's eyes the Moscow church is a schismatic church but the Protestant churches are heretical churches. From Moscow's point of view things are not so clear. There are within Orthodoxy voices which tell us that at bottom Rome is just as heretical as the Protestant churches, which, as some Orthodox theologians have said, represent only a particular instance of the Roman church.

One might well say the situation is confused. Here we have certain tendencies of the Orthodox church which would place the Protestant churches alongside Rome, while the basic conviction of Rome is that Moscow is much closer to itself than any of the Protestant churches. This is one of those instances where churches allow themselves to be influenced less by theological insights than by other factors. The struggle for the uniate churches behind the iron curtain is the manifestation of a passionate feeling of difference between Rome and Moscow of which we have but an inkling. The Roman church is closer to the Protestant "heretics" both in thought and in relations between the two than it is to the "schismatic" church of Moscow. How could it be otherwise? The Augsburg Confession is comprehensible only when it is placed over against its Roman antithesis.

On the other hand, we are witnessing an exciting event in the history of the church: Moscow, rather than seeking to heal the schism (in which case it would have to come to terms with Rome), is instead seeking to work together with the "heretics." That we

are heretics in Moscow's eyes no less than in Rome's no one can dispute. If many Protestants feel otherwise, that is irrelevant here; such a feeling is usually a result of insufficient acquaintance with Orthodoxy.

At this point we attach a footnote. That Moscow, if it longs for Christian fellowship, concerns itself neither about the Protestant churches in its own territory nor about the Roman church on this side of the iron curtain is not a mere blemish but something that calls for serious reflection. It is true that a Russian [sic] delegation, composed of Lutherans from Estonia and Latvia, a Reformed Christian from Hungary, and an Orthodox representative, were recently guests of the leaders of the Protestant Church of Westphalia. But the meeting took place *outside* of Russia. Close cooperation at home does not exist to the degree that Moscow was striving for in Utrecht. Having said this, equal emphasis should be placed upon the observation that Protestants in the West have not concerned themselves about Greece and the ancient patriarchates anywhere near as much as they have about the Russian church. Both observations are depressing.

(4) The treatment of the Catholic question in Germany suffers from an incongruity. However one explains it, the interest of German Protestants in the Roman church is nowhere near as great as their interest in the Moscow church. There are frequent accusations of "Catholicizing tendencies," but, oddly, only when it is a question of interest in the Roman Catholic Church. For example, we have at hand a report in *Zeichen der Zeit* (vol. 7-8, 1958, pp. 268-275) by Prof. Heinrich Vogel of Berlin on his trip to Moscow. The apologetic way in which he treats the "magical elements" (the expression is Vogel's) in the Orthodox worship service—almost as a footnote to a footnote—is truly provoking. If he and his traveling companions were to apply the same criteria to the Roman Catholic Church in Germany, how much closer German Protestants and Roman Catholics would be drawn together! We would not mention all this were it not for the fact that the circles which think and feel as Vogel does are quite strong in Germany.

This certainly is related to the fact that neighbors know one another better than do antipodes. But can churches actually afford that? In judging the usual veneration of Mary by Roman Catholic Christians, must we not apply to them the same criteria that

we do to Russian Orthodox Christians? It would be unfair to assume that the Russia enthusiasts are not acquainted with the Orthodox mass. But then how is one to explain the naivete with which they excuse in the Rome of the East what they condemn in the Rome of the West? "Romanticism" would probably be the kindest explanation. If that is not suitable, then one should introduce political elements to explain this phenomenon. Undoubtedly such elements also require discussion, but only at the proper place and only with the proper importance attached to them.

Another factor in the incongruity is the manner in which we in Germany proceed with respect to Moscow and with respect to Rome. It is not quite clear whether relations with Moscow were taken up by persons acting in an official, semi-official or private capacity. Certainly Martin Niemöller and Gustav Heinemann, who made the initial visits, held high offices in the EKD at the time of their visit to Moscow. And certainly Fuglsang-Damgaard occupied a high office in the church in Denmark. The only counterpart in the West is the visit which Bishop Dibelius paid to the pope. The protest aroused by his visit is still fresh in our memory. Indeed, even in church life within Germany difficulties of protocol between bishop and bishop have not been lacking. In Germany within the last thirteen years I can think of no visit to a German Roman Catholic official which would compare in importance with those made to the Moscow church.

In the area of theological relations the situation is quite different. Ever since Barth became internationally known the question of Roman Catholicism has been one of the theological themes which have been the object of uninterrupted study. Here mention should be made particularly of that group of theologians led, on the Protestant side, by Bishop Stählin and, on the Roman Catholic side, by Archbishop Jäger of Paderborn, Germany. There has been, therefore, great effort expended on the theological work preliminary to a recasting of the relations between Rome and the Protestant churches. This is a historical phenomenon unique in the history of the churches of the Reformation. But, peculiarly, church leaders have not drawn the consequences. Here one sees the full extent of the incongruity. With respect to Moscow everyone is at pains to arrive at *faits accomplis* which then take concrete

form in negotiations by church officials. Thought is given to theological considerations neither before negotiations nor alongside them. With respect to Rome, now, very careful theological study has been made. But no consequences are drawn from the fact. When we say this, we are doing no one an injustice.

(5) The big question to be answered is emerging with increasing clarity. In a farewell telegram President Wilm of the church in Westphalia assured the Moscow church of "true fellowship in faith." The telegram can be regarded as an official communication and represents one of those *faits accomplis* which influenced the Utrecht negotiations before they began. In his article Vogel applies the term "brothers" to the Moscow men [*den Moskauer Herren*] and adds that he is using the word "in its full sense." I do not know if the Moscow church made similar far-reaching theological utterances.

It is a fact, however, that the late pope applied to us Protestants the term "brother" and with the same meaning. These examples illustrate the fact that the boundaries between churches have become a problem. It is true that current ecclesiastical usage still confuses the terms "brother" (i.e. by reason of a common humanity) and "brother in Christ." But in Germany at least there is a growing feeling that "brother in Christ" should have exclusive meaning. One is a brother in this sense only because with the Second Adam a new mankind has been created to which not everyone belongs by reason of birth. A new creation by God was necessary in order to bring about this brotherhood. The existence of this new brotherhood in the world, before the advent of the Last Day, is what we are concerned about when we ask what the "church" is. Or is that wrong? This is the question.

What the Moscow church thinks on this point is not clear to me. I have the feeling that on this question it is influenced to a great degree by emotional factors. Still I am by no means certain that the concept of brotherhood is any clearer among Protestants or in the Roman church. Among us Protestants the confusion seems to be twofold. The Anglo-Saxon world is inclined more or less to identify the Christian concept of brotherhood with that of the French Revolution. I have still to see that Anglo-Saxon theologians have given consideration to the question of how the charter of the United Nations differs from the New Testament

message of brotherhood. Many German Protestant theologians apparently think along similar lines. That is one of the reasons why there has not been a breach in the EKID, for the extreme theologians such as Vogel, Iwand, et al., who are essentially actualistic in orientation, will always be inclined to draw the lines of brotherhood where there is agreement on questions of the day: who is for peace, and who is against the atom bomb? Uncertainty is of the essence of this particular way of putting the questions, for they serve to unite only as long as there is this lack of clarity.

It is plain that such an approach subjects the previous boundaries between churches to a relativization. But doesn't the attitude of the pope have the same effect, even if in a completely different way? In Roman Catholicism at present there are, if I judge the situation correctly, two tendencies contending with one another, no one being able to determine who is on one side and who on the other. Apparently the situation which exists is that while certain new questions have been raised, they stand side by side without having been brought fully into relation to another. Rome's basic contention that it is the *one* church has not changed. I must confess I should feel uneasy if it were to change. I could not approve of such a relativization. Yet Rome is confronted, especially in Germany, by the new question of how it regards the Christians outside the Roman church. Whether Roman dogmatics has an answer ready, and if so of what sort, are questions which I do not think have been answered as yet. Roman dogmatics says that Rome does not recognize the Protestant ministry, something quite understandable in view of Rome's presuppositions. Yet our Roman brethren in Germany are giving serious attention to the question of what the Protestant ministry *is* if it is *not* the ministry in the true sense. The situation is similar with respect to the preaching of the word and the Sacrament of the Altar.

This is a rough outline of the big question agitating Christendom today. If one states them in different terms, then the questions of the Roman Catholic Church are also our questions. It is high time that we answer the question whether the pope is the Antichrist, and whether the Smalcald Articles' frightful views on the mass are really tenable. Anyone who accords the Moscow church "true fellowship in faith" certainly has no

right to address the Roman church and its institutions in such terms.

(6) In conclusion I should like to say something about the political aspect of this ecclesiastical triangle, Rome, Moscow, Wittenberg. As far as I can tell, the political factor is denied by none of these three. If nothing else, we might mention the peace slogans issued—with the same amount of emphasis on all sides—by the pope, the Protestant churches and the Moscow church. The decisive thing is, of course, the ability of churches actually to do anything about peace. The Patriarch of Moscow and the members of his church can, at best, implement underground "public" opinion. No one will demand or expect him to influence the policies of the Kremlin; as it is, his statements in the last war go far beyond anything ever uttered by Ludwig Müller [*Reichsbischof* in the Third Reich. Translator]. If he does have a real influence—something we heartily wish him—we can conceive of it only as an influence which does not affect harmonious relations between *nations*. His influence is unilaterally defined. For this reason the delegations to Moscow have apparently not yet been able to convey the impression that they are actually serving the cause of peace.

The Protestant churches of Germany exercise a legitimate and a real influence upon the political policies of their particular provinces. Two dangers threaten them, however. Either the state church idea lingers on so that they are inclined to make political capital of their policies on peace—would anyone dispute that?—or they proceed from principles which are unrealistic. We have seen that in the Protestant churches in Germany an anti-atom-bomb propaganda has gained a foothold, propaganda which has in effect, whether intentionally or unintentionally, abetted the enemies of their own country. Everyone knows into what difficulties this has brought German Christendom.

What is the situation, now, with respect to the Vatican? For the Soviets the Vatican is the center of western war propaganda. That such a view is even possible is an indication of the power of eastern propaganda and, one must say, unfortunately, of the stupidity of people in the West. For no power on the earth has as great an interest in seeing all live in harmony as has the Vatican. One need call to mind only the following antithetical pairs: Poland and East Germany, the Roman Catholics and Protestants in Canada, the

Anglicans and the Roman Catholics in England, the Roman Catholics in the US and South America, those in Germany and those in France, etc. A sober and realistic look at the political situation in the world shows that the Vatican is necessarily concerned about seeing people live in harmony in every part of the world. (One need think only of the race question in the US.) The reverse is necessarily true of the Kremlin and, one must add, unfortunately, of the patriarch, unless the patriarch were openly to oppose the Kremlin, something one probably cannot ask of him.

The political aspect of the question that concerns us here, namely, the unity of the church, becomes tangible, finally, in a very serious way. The activity of the Kremlin is gradually becoming so evident that this must be stated.

(a) The Kremlin's contest with the church is a contest with the Vatican. In the struggle we Protestants are being asked—not merely theoretically but quite existentially—whether we are going to remain neutral or even cast our vote for the Kremlin. I am convinced that this political factor is closely related to the fact that relations between Protestants and Roman Catholics in Germany have grown cool. Naturally I cannot prove that. But the Kremlin's persistent attempt to produce a split in the ranks of the Roman Catholic priests in the satellite countries and thus to separate them from Rome is a fact that cannot be denied. Can that leave us unmoved? It would be inconceivable that the Kremlin would not attempt to use us Protestants to achieve its ends.

(b) Moscow's variety of peace campaign is being conducted, in a quite appalling manner, with the help of ministers of all confessions behind the iron curtain. Here we have the patriarch, certain Lutherans, certain Reformed, certain Roman Catholics, all in the best inner fellowship and with the outward approval of the Kremlin. Certain circles

of Protestant churchmen in Germany lend them unwavering moral support, perhaps without meaning to do so, although that is difficult to conceive.

(c) The trips of Protestant churchmen to Moscow are certainly not something unique. Delegations of Roman Catholic priests, most of them excommunicated, from Hungary and other countries behind the iron curtain are certainly to be regarded as parallels. The reports of these priests upon their return correspond exactly, sometimes to the very word, with those of the Protestants. The article in *Christlicher Sonntag* (no. 36, 1958) on this subject, "Church Struggle with New Methods," is worth looking at. This political factor should occupy us more than it has hitherto. The churchman who makes a trip to Moscow may be ever so intent upon being "completely non-political," he is nevertheless enclosed in a political parallelogram of power which embraces the whole world.

(d) One of the Kremlin's chief concerns is to foster the impression that there is in its territory no underground church, since Christians and churches are allegedly not persecuted. It is a fact that even representatives of the churches behind the iron curtain attempt to disseminate this impression all over the world. And the churchmen who have traveled to Moscow corroborate what they say. But isn't this a rather questionable characteristic in these churches? Any church is blessed in its worship if it has martyrs. Are the churches behind the iron curtain actually not acquainted with this blessing to their worship? Are they unwilling to know it? In Germany Roman Catholic Christians and we Protestants are bound together by nothing so strongly as we are by our martyrs: Schneider, Weissler, Delp, Metzger and many, many others.

HANS CHRISTIAN ASMUSSEN

Heidelberg, Germany

"GO AND TEACH ALL NATIONS"

Anyone with some acquaintance with New Testament exegesis knows how many historical problems and questions of source criticism there are surrounding the great missionary command in the last chapter of Matthew. It is difficult to define the historical setting of these words of our Lord, and even more difficult to say how they are to be carried out: no directions are included. Hence it is probably no accident that the first serious controversy in the church, between Paul and the primitive church, Gentile Christians and Jewish Christians, arose over this question of just how the command was to be executed. One of the greatest exegetes of this passage in our time, the late Ernst Lohmeyer, summed up the problem in these words: "Like the prophecy of Second Isaiah, the missionary command retains a superb, eschatologically necessary indefiniteness."

In addition to these exegetical problems, however, we must not overlook the fact that most of our Western translations of the Bible, following the Vulgate, are based on an interpretation that is not necessarily in agreement with the Greek text. The Greek speaks of "making disciples of all nations." Now, in the thought of Western Christianity "to teach" and "to make disciples" are very closely related. In the homelands of white Christians the school has been one of the most important means of expansion, and the practice has also been transplanted to the other continents. But "to be a disciple" and "to be a pupil" are no longer by any means synonymous. The Western school system has today won its way into almost all parts of the world; but the Christian founders of these schools find themselves either excluded entirely or at least relegated to the sidelines. The school has brought to the world progress and technological civilization, but not faith.

For present-day Christianity this seems to provide a good occasion to level accusations at our fathers' and grandfathers' generations. The 19th century, that era of the white man's conquest of the world, should also, it is charged, have been the era of a much greater expansion of the Christian faith than it actually was. Instead, the expansion of the white peoples and their culture was bound up with the political movement of imperialism, with the optimism of European and American faith in Western culture, with the concept of the white man's paternalistic role in the affairs of nations. All three ideas are things of the past, defended today perhaps only by a few backward people between the Baltic Sea and the Bay of Biscay, or between the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans, or perhaps by some white colonists "overseas." As rules with which to govern nations they have become obsolete, even in those areas where they were able to work only "indirectly," as in the church, for example. In any honest examination of historical movements and historical guilt we have good reason to take a critical look at the connection between the politics and the spirit of a particular age and missions. It is essential that we today scrutinize the structure of our church to see whether relics from the past century have survived and to ask how much has been built on the sand of politics and mere opinion and how much on the rock of the gospel and genuine faith. The times test the church, something that is true not only in retrospect.

The times test us, here, today, in Europe and America just as much as in Africa and other parts of the world. Only if the church can really tell the people of our time what it is and why it exists will it be able to pass the test.

In looking back at the 19th century, the object of so much opprobrium, we must confess that the Christians of that day had on the whole fewer difficulties than we in giving an intelligible account of the place and task of the church. As Protestants envisaged it, to teach the nations meant, after all, to dispense to the poor our own treasures of knowledge, culture, possessions and, of course, religion. This was the origin of the schools, hospitals and church buildings that characterize the Christianity of that day and that in many parts of the world even in our own day. This was true not only of so-called "foreign missions," but also in the movement which came to be called by Johann Hinrich Wichern's term "inner mission." Today we can see that this form of Christianity was bound up with a way of thinking which was saddled with paternalistic traits. We can see that even in that day the attitude underlying the approach of "inner missions" and "foreign missions" to poor fellow-countrymen and to "poor" nations respectively was anachronistic. What is more important, however, is that we recognize that this aberration in the development of missions was not merely a result of certain secular ideas or even ideologies. The seeds of the development are already contained in the 19th century's theological concept of "teaching," which actually forces the Christian nations, willy nilly, into the role of praeceptores mundi. For us to attempt to play this role, something self-evident to Livingstone's generation, would be impossible today. This is due not so much to the changed situation in the world as it is to our new understanding of the gospel, more specifically, of our Lord's missionary command.

Were we to try and sum up the insights into the last verses of Matthew gained by contemporary theology, and the growth in our understanding of the meaning for our faith of these few verses of such significance in the history of the church, we would concentrate on two points, keeping in mind all the while that we must now express ourselves more hesitantly and tentatively.

The first point is that any reflecting a Christian does on the present-day world and its future course ought to be preceded by Christ's statement: "All power is given unto me in heaven and on earth." This statement expresses the change which has taken place "in heaven and on earth" as a result of his coming. Not only the world, but heaven as well has been altered. Christ has the power in both realms. How the realizing of all this would affect our life and work here on earth was a matter the Lord left to succeeding generations. It is certain, however, that this statement transcends every ideology and also every doubt. From the very beginning "some doubted" its truth (Mt. 28:17), a fact which according to the account of the evangelist only serves to emphasize its validity. This statement, "all power is given unto me in heaven and on earth," thus becomes the theme of all subsequent history. It issues the summons to missionary work, but at the same time it lies beyond all the missionary programs of any particular generation—in "superb, eschatologically necessary indefiniteness."

Our second point would be that the missionary imperative has a political dimension. "Disciples" are to be made of "the nations." This is the task which falls to those who have been made aware of the vast change which Christ brings to heaven and earth. For that is the original meaning of Mt. 28:19, and it cannot be evaded. Certainly "teaching" is also mentioned in the Lord's missionary command: "teaching them to observe all that I have commanded you." But that comes later. First the nations are to become disciples, which cannot be taken to mean anything other than that the mystery of God called Jesus Christ is to be shared with the nations themselves. The gospel is thereby directed not only to the individual, it has reference to the nations, it makes them disciples; and that means that a new factor enters also into the relations between one nation and another. The gospel has a political dimension. It may well be that in the history of the church Enthusiasts and heretics have falsely emphasized this fact and that for this reason it has become suspect in the eyes of the church. Nevertheless the commission has been laid upon Christians by their Lord, and it is in the nature of our historical existence as Christians that we are today conscious of this commission more profoundly and in another way than were Christians in previous ages.

In 1955 the World Council of Churches commissioned its Division of Studies to make a biblical study on the theme "The Lordship of Christ over the World and the Church." The results for the first two years of study, 1956 and 1957, are now available. The questions to which the study addressed itself, especially as reflected in the first study document, are in fact the essential questions which people today should be asking about the church and its place in the world. "What is meant by the 'World'?" "What is the connection between the Lordship of Christ over the world and the mission of the Church to all the nations?" "What is meant by Christ's victory over the 'powers'? How can we give meaning to this in the modern world?" But the answers which the second document of 1957 then attempts to give are disappointing. In spite of the appended guiding principles of the Oxford Study Conference (July, 1949) for the interpretation of the Bible, the document seems to a large measure to follow the usual method of stringing Bible passages together rather than interpreting them, a method which has still not properly understood what is implied in the fact that a generation which has received a new commission in the world also has need of a new way of listening to the words of its Master in Scripture. Without a doubt that implies more than simply adopting some of the principles of historical exegesis. The Lordship of Christ over the world, a political conception of discipleship and new interpretation of the Bible all belong together. But as yet we have not yet discovered the common denominator that will integrate our theologizing, our mission work and our work of serving.

Some of the articles in this issue of Lutheran World are on the fundamental rethinking going on in an area which was identified for centuries by the technical term "missions." They would probably not have accorded with theological and political thinking on missions in earlier periods. But they do fit into a concept of missions which sees the process of "becoming disciples" as taking place among

nations and compelling all those involved to ponder how this newly conceived relation of disciple to Master can be realized today. This process is, as we know, an ecumenical phenomenon. It applies to all nations, but it also applies to all areas of thought, including theological thought.

Certainly our criticism of what has been done in the past is often greater than our ability to come up with our own answers. But on the other hand, the inadequacy within us and vis-à-vis the world is a sign that we have entered into that eschatological event from which the exciting portion of history in which we find ourselves emanates and in which it will one day culminate. Man can fulfill his historical task only if he knows more than just history—if he knows that what he does now will one day come under the criticism of posterity and certainly under the judgment of God. Those who see history from the outside can measure it only with relative criteria. But the person who is himself involved in history and the decisions that requires needs obedience if he is not to become subservient to one of the powers which are intent on enslaving both Christians and non-Christians everywhere. Or, to return to our starting point, he needs to put his full trust in the promise of our Lord: "I am with you alway, even unto the end of the world."

HANS BOLEWSKI

EDITORIAL NOTES

In this issue we have attempted something new in the way of having Asian and African Christians contribute to the pages of Lutheran World/Lutherische Rundschau. The outcome is "Confessions and Churches—An Afro-Asian Symposium," edited by the director of the LWF Department of World Mission, Dr. ARNE SOVIK. Now we should like to continue the symposium by publishing other expressions of opinion on the questions raised. Readers both in and outside of the LWF are invited to write in. The two other main articles on some of the political and economic problems of Africa and some of the problems of the African churches are based on lectures given a few months ago at a conference on "Africa in the Midst of Spiritual and Economic Change" at the Evangelical Academy, Loccum, Germany. Dr. JAN HERMELINK is on the staff of the German Evangelical Missionary Council in Hamburg; Dr. A. A. J. van BILSEN is a lecturer at the institute for overseas regions at the University of Antwerp, Belgium. Long years of experience make him especially well informed on the situation in the Belgian Congo.

Others of the articles and reports in this issue also devote special attention to Africa. Pastor HARVEY J. CURRENS, who writes on some of the problems connected with polygamy, is with the ULCA mission in Monrovia, Liberia. Dr. WESLEY SADLER, who writes on language learning in Liberia, has been working there since 1941 and in the spring of this year will assume his new post as head of the writing-literacy center at Kitwe, Northern Rhodesia. The study made by the Institute of Psychology of the University of Hamburg, which DIETER DANCKWORTT, a member of the staff of the institute, describes, is of special significance for the question of cooperation between younger and older churches and student exchange programs. The article on the ordination of women in Sweden by Dr. STEN RODHE, lector at a junior college in Malmö, Sweden, brings readers up to date on developments since Dr. Rodhe's last article on this subject in the March, 1958 issue of Lutheran World. His account and Dr. PAUL ZIEGER's observations on the statistics of mixed marriages in Germany are evidence that the countries of Europe are also involved in a rapid social change of major proportions which is profoundly transforming the historic forms of the churches in these countries.

The second section of the journal has reports on a number of important conferences and study projects. Pastor OSCAR R. ROLANDER, secretary of the Department of World Missions Cooperation in the Division of LWF Affairs of the National Lutheran Council in New York, reports on the 40th meeting of the Lutheran Foreign Missions Conference in the United States; Dr. OSKAR SÖHNGEN, Vice President of the Kirchenkanzlei of the Evangelische Kirche der Union, reports on the Oslo congress for church music; Pastor HERBERT WILD of Sessenheim, Alsace, on the fourth conference of European Lutheran minority churches; Dr. JOHANNES PFEIFFER, pastor in Berlin, on the meeting of the Committee on Latin America; and the Rev. PAUL ABRECHT describes the World Council of Churches study program on rapid social change which he is directing.

Book reviews have been contributed by Dr. David Löfgren, Lund, Sweden; Vicar Martin Schloemann, Münster (Westphalia), Germany; Dr. Gunnar Hillerdal, Lund; Professor Arno Lehmann, Halle, Germany; Dr. Hans-Joachim Thilo, Geneva; Mr. Paul Heyne, Valparaiso, Indiana; Dr. Hans Martin Müller, Göttingen, Germany; Professor Gerhard Delling, Halle; Dr. Horace D. Hummel, USA, at present in Heidelberg.

*Among the letter writers, Dr. Hans-Joachim Thilo, writer of the letter on cooperation between pastors and physicians, is pastor of the Lutheran church in Geneva and one of the few German specialists in this field; he is author of *Der ungespaltene Mensch* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1957). Joseph H. Deibert is professor of practical theology on the Facultad Luterana de Teologia in José C. Paz, Argentina. Dr. Hans C. Asmussen, Heidelberg, is dean emeritus. We take this opportunity of drawing attention to the appeal of the Basel Bible Society.*

*The greater part of Dr. Zieger's report was published earlier in *Evangelische Welt* (Vol. 12, No. 6, 1958), and we are reproducing it by kind permission of the editor. Dr. Zieger has brought the statistics of the original article up to date.*

*The text of page one, which has sometimes been called an African version of the Lord's Prayer, is attributed to the seer Ntsikana Gaba and is here translated from the German version of it in *Schwarze Intelligenz* by Peter Sulzer (p. 123; published by Atlantis Verlag, Zurich).*

LUTHERAN WORLD
publication of the
LUTHERAN WORLD FEDERATION

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Events in the Ecumenical World

1959

February 12 - 14	LWF, Commission on World Service	Geneva, Switzerland
February 28 - March 1	WCC, Faith and Order, Theological Commission on Tradition and Traditions, American Section	New York, USA
April 3 - 8	WCC, Faith and Order, Theological Commission on Worship	Heidelberg, Germany
April 6 - 10	WCC, Faith and Order, Lutheran-Reformed Consultation	Arnoldshain, Germany
April 6 - 11	LWF, European Stewardship Conference	Hoisbüttel, Germany
April 13 - 20	LWF, Committee on Latin America	Buenos Aires, Argentina
April 14 - 17	LWF, Latin America Conference	Buenos Aires Argentina
May 1 - 6	WCC, Department on the Cooperation of Men and Women in Church and Society, Consultation	Anandagiri, Nilgiri Hills, India
May 14 - 26	East Asia Christian Council Assembly	Kuala Lumpur, Malaya
May 19 - 22	Lausanne European Youth Assembly Preparatory Committee	Amsterdam, Netherlands
June 25 - 27	LWF Administrative Committee, Commission on Stewardship and Congregational Life	Strasbourg, France
July 20 - August 1	WCC, Faith and Order, Theological Commission on Christ and the Church	Tutzing, Germany
July 25 - August 2	International Conference on Rapid Social Change	Anatolia College, Thessalonike
July 27 - August 6	World Presbyterian Alliance, 18th General Council	Sao Paulo, Brazil
July 29 - August 6	LWF, Commission on World Mission	Nyborg, Denmark
August 4	WCC, Plenary Assembly Commissions	Spittal, Austria
August 7 - 9	LWF, Theological Conference for Pastors	Oxford, England
August 10 - 15	LWF, Commission on Theology	Amsterdam, Netherlands
September 2 - 5	LWF, Commission on World Service	Paris, France

LITERATURE SURVEY

A REVIEW OF RECENT THEOLOGICAL PUBLICATIONS

PUBLISHED AS A SUPPLEMENT TO LUTHERAN WORLD BY THE DEPARTMENT OF THEOLOGY
OF THE LUTHERAN WORLD FEDERATION

MARCH

1959

Biblical Theology

DIE HANDSCHRIFTENFUNDE AM TOTEN MEER. DIE SEKTE VON QUMRAN [*The Dead Sea Scrolls and the Qumran Sect*]. By Hans Bardke. Berlin: Evangelische Hauptbibelgesellschaft, 1958. viii & 337 pp., 20 plates, DM 12.80.

This new book on the Dead Sea scrolls is distinguished by its presentation of the life and writings of the "Qumran Sect." The author includes studies on the history of the Qumran settlement, the economic conditions for survival and the archeological and manuscript findings at Qumran, a translation of the texts (pp. 215-302), plus contemporary accounts of "the Essenes and related groups" (pp. 305-333). Plates illustrate the archeological finds, the site, the ground plan and various aspects of the buildings at Qumran. The plates, the author's presentation and the translated texts enable even the reader who has not yet delved into the abundant literature on the subject to reconstruct the thought and customs of the Qumran community.

THE ANCIENT LIBRARY OF QUMRAN AND MODERN BIBLICAL STUDIES. By Frank Moore Cross, Jr. New York: Doubleday & Company, Inc., 1958. xv and 196 pp., \$4.50.

Originally delivered as the Haskell Lectures for 1956-1957, this book is a study of the Qumran texts. After an engaging and well-constructed history of the discovery of the materials and a brief description of them in Chapter I, Prof. Cross argues in Chapter II that the people of the scrolls were in fact the Essenes. Through a comparison of the scrolls, the Damascus Document, and Josephus and Philo, he shows the affinities be-

tween the two sects in their attitude toward marriage, their apocalyptic bent and their independent sacrificial cultus. Chapter III is an attempt from paleography, numismatics and historical allusions to date the origin of the community in the reign of Simon (142-134 B.C.) or John Hyrcanus I. The Wicked Priest of the Habakkuk Commentary is identified as Simon. Cross portrays the Righteous Teacher as the Zadokite founder of the Essene faith, forced to flee to Qumran when Simon established himself in the high priesthood. The value of the scrolls for Old Testament textual studies is discussed, and Lagarde's general theory is reaffirmed to be the framework in which LXX problems must be solved. In the last chapter, "The Essenes and the Primitive Church," the author describes the Essene background for the Gospel of John and the Johannine writings and deals with similarities between the Essene community at Qumran and the early church in eschatological motifs, order of government and liturgical institutions. Some sharp distinctions between the Essene faith and the Christian gospel are outlined in a postscript.

LEHRE UND WIRKLICHKEIT IN DER ALTEN WEISHEIT. Studien zu den Sprüchen Salomos und zu dem Buche Hiob [*The Teaching and Practice of Ancient Wisdom Literature. Studies of Proverbs and Job*]. By Hartmut Gese. Tübingen: J.C.B. Mohr (Paul Siebeck), 1958. vi & 90 pp., DM 9.00.

This work is an inaugural dissertation on the philosophy of the wisdom literature of the ancient Orient and Israel, the optimistic outlook of Proverbs and related texts, and the questioning of this view and of the doctrine of retribution connected with it in the Book of Job. In the first part of the book the author deals with the aphoristic wisdom

literature of the Old Testament, making extensive reference to Egyptian parallels. In both cases the world is seen as an order in which there is a direct connection between what one does and how one fares. In Old Testament wisdom literature, however, this connection between one's deeds and one's fortunes is severed by the action of God, who is independent of this fixed scheme. The second part, on the Book of Job, also begins by presenting a number of parallels showing the origin of the "Job theme" in Sumerian and Babylonian culture. Gese constructs from these parallels the genre of "the answered lament." Its *Sitz im Leben* is public worship and it was at first independent of Hebrew wisdom; according to Gese it was the model for the so-called *Volksbuch*, the prose framework of Job. The author of the Job dialogue opposes the theology of the answered lament. The aim is no longer to make hearers aware of the deeds-fortunes correlation of retribution, but to open their eyes to God's almighty power and to awaken faith in His steadfastness and righteousness, qualities which God will preserve in spite of the incomprehensibility of his action.

HEILIGENGRÄBER IN JESU UMWELT. (Mt. 23:29; Lk. 11:47). *Eine Untersuchung zur Volksreligion der Zeit Jesu [Saints' Tombs in Jesus' Environment. A Study on Popular Religion at the Time of Jesus]*. By Joachim Jeremias. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1958. 155 pp., paper, DM 15.80, cloth, DM 19.80.

The purpose of this work is to throw the light of the New Testament world on Matt. 23:29 (and its parallel Luke 11:47). The first part, which is by far the longest, provides a geographical survey of those tombs of Jewish and Samaritan saints whose origins can be traced back with some probability or even with certainty to the pre-Christian or early Christian era. Part two is a brief discussion of the emergence and the structure of the sepulchres built over the tombs. The third part deals with the veneration of saints in intertestamental Judaism and shows how the idea of the saints as thaumaturges and intercessors (cf. the intercession of Christ in the NT) underlies the care devoted to sacred tombs. (From this it follows that the later Christian veneration of the saints has significant roots also in the popular religion of intertestamental Judaism.) The

author hopes that by thus throwing light on part of the popular religion of the world in which Jesus lived he has also proved in principle that this popular religion is "just as much a part of the background to Jesus' message as the theology of intertestamental Judaism and is just as important for understanding that message."

RAND McNALLY BIBLE ATLAS. By Emil G. Kraeling. Chicago: Rand McNally & Company, 1956. 487 pp., \$8.95.

The chief emphasis of this Bible atlas lies in the comprehensiveness and authority of the extensive text. Dr. Kraeling gives a description of the geography of historical situations as he traces the course of biblical history; he has produced a masterly historical geography in addition to providing the topographical information for which the publishers are famous. Following a general description of the land of Palestine, chapters 3-22 are arranged into the following sections: The Ancient Hebrew Tradition, The Promised Land, The Great Kings, The Divided Kingdom, Babylon to Jerusalem, The Time of Jesus, and The Growth of Christianity. The first section is especially noteworthy for its thorough treatment of geographical information pertaining to the patriarchs and for its complete background to the Pentateuch. For example, tribal wanderings to Palestine from the upper Euphrates are depicted in clear geographical detail. Problematic areas with clear alternatives, such as the course of the Exodus, are given special treatment, and the various theories are carefully examined. The latest results of archeological investigation are taken fully into account. In addition to the maps representing roughly each century from 1300 B.C. to 60 A.D. and several maps of special interest, the book is replete with photographs and sketches.

THE BOOK OF NAHUM: A COMMENTARY. By Walter A. Maier. St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1959. vii and 386 pp., \$5.75.

The late Dr. Maier was renowned as the Lutheran Hour speaker, and this commentary on Nahum reflects his evangelistic as well as his academic interest and competence. The book, appearing posthumously, is written from a militantly conservative point of view,

as Prof. Schick's foreword indicates. A literally precise translation of the book of Nahum, and remarks on the person of the prophet, are followed by an extended introduction to the book of Nahum. The book is dated ca. 654 B.C., other dates being unacceptable for critical reasons and because they "limit the power of prophecy." The author denies the presence of an acrostic in chapter 1, asserting that the evidence for it is manufactured. He stands firmly against interpreting Nahum as a prophetic liturgy. After treating the contributions of the various sources to the history of the fall of Nineveh, the events of the fall are related in great detail to Nahum's predictions. The traditions in Diodorus Siculus are notably used to support Maier's arguments. The textual notes in the commentary are thorough; they are also accompanied by extensive historical and geographical references. The Masoretic textual tradition is followed scrupulously (v. the acrostic, 1:10, 3:15), and all attempts to alter it, especially for metrical reasons, are vigorously attacked. However, Maier does infrequently make emendations by his translation of MT (e.g., 1:12, 2:3, 2:9). The commentary emphasizes the certainty of the wrath of God against his enemies, and the hope which Nahum's prediction of certain punishment brings to a people under the Assyrian yoke early in the reign of Ashurbanipal.

D. MARTIN LUTHERS PSALMEN-AUSLEGUNG. BD. I, Ps. 1-25 [*Luther's Exposition of the Psalms. Vol. I, Ps. 1-25*]. Edited by Erwin Mülhaupt. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1958. 356 pp., DM 20.00.

Prof. Mülhaupt's reputation was established through his five-volume edition of Luther's exposition of the gospels. He has now begun a companion edition of Luther's exposition of the Psalms. In contrast to a similar attempt of over a century ago, when Eberle harmonized Luther's expositions of the Psalms, Mülhaupt, who is professor of church history at the seminary in Wuppertal, is intent on providing an edition as faithful as possible to the sources themselves. All the texts are therefore given exactly as they appear in the Weimar edition. The editor's procedure is the same he employed when compiling the volumes on the gospels, to include everything that bears on the subject.

In this case that is Luther's two well-known expositions of the Psalter, the lectures of 1513-1515, the *Operationes* of 1519-21, sermons and occasional utterances on the Psalms. Each exegetical section is preceded by Luther's translation of the Psalms from the year 1545. The work is planned in three volumes.

GESAMMELTE STUDIEN ZUM ALTEN TESTAMENT [*Studies in the Old Testament*]. (*Theologische Bücherei, Bd. 8.*) By Gerhard von Rad. Munich: Christian Kaiser Verlag, 1958. 312 pp., DM 12.00.

This collection of writings which have been published before in various places lays bare as it were the roots of von Rad's *Theologie des Alten Testaments*, published by Christian Kaiser last year. The longest study is the monograph on "The Problem of the Form Criticism of the Hexateuch" (1938), in which von Rad advances for the first time his now well-known thesis on the traditio-historical background of the Hexateuch. This study is followed by "The Promised Land and Jahweh's Land in the Hexateuch" (1943), "There is Still a Rest for the People of God" (1933), and "Tent and Ark," in which the author finds the essence of the Old Testament promises to be the manner in which they point beyond themselves to the New Testament. Further essays include "The Theological Problem of the Old Testament Belief in Creation" (here the author shows by reference to Deutero-Isaiah the correlation of the belief in creation and redemption in ancient Israel), "The Beginnings of the Writing of History in Ancient Israel" (an analysis of the history of the Davidic dynasty) and "Righteousness and Life in the Cultic Language of the Psalms" (an analysis of the relation of cultic forms and individual piety in the Psalms).

BIBLISCHE STUDIEN. DIE EPOCHE DER RICHTER [*Biblical Studies. The Era of the Judges*]. By Eugen Täubler. Tübingen: J.C.B. Mohr (Paul Siebeck), 1958. xv & 320 pp., paper bound, DM 33.00, cloth bound, DM 37.00.

The author introduces this book with a study of the literary foundations of his subject, laying special emphasis upon the distinction between miracle story [*Novelle*] and legend. After some observations on the

historical presuppositions, especially on the problem of the Habiru, the author turns to his real task. He concentrates on individual figures (Ehud and Eglon, Deborah and Barak, Gideon and Abimelech, Jephthah, etc.) and on the still independent tribes or groups of tribes (Dan; Asher and Zebulun; Reuben; the house of Joseph, etc.). In addition to the book of Judges, which forms the real basis of the study, other Old Testament traditions are also examined, e.g. some of the tribal sayings of Genesis 49 and Deuteronomy 33. The careful and detailed exegesis, which takes particular account of geographical factors, discusses previous research as it proceeds. Detailed indexes and a map are appended. The author was a historian and Jewish theologian who taught ancient history in Berlin, Zurich and Heidelberg; after 1933 he held a position at the institute for Jewish scholarship in Berlin, and from 1941 until his death in 1953 was professor at Hebrew Union College in Cincinnati, Ohio. The book constitutes the first part of a manuscript left by the author; it was prepared for publication by Hans-Jürgen Zobel with the assistance of Professor Eissfeldt.

DER RECHTSSTREIT GOTTES MIT SEINER GEMEINDE. DER PROPHET MICHA [*God's Lawsuit versus His People. The Prophet Micah*]. (*Die Botschaft des Alten Testaments*, 23, III.) By Rolf Freiherr von Ungern-Sternberg. Stuttgart: Calwer Verlag, 1958. 179 pp., DM 9.80.

The author, pastor of a parish in Munich, approaches his work with a clearly-defined thesis about the book of Micah: the heart of the book, as indicated by the title, is an image from the realm of law: God instituting proceedings against Israel. The prophet, God's spokesman, opens the proceedings and calls Israel to account. Between the two great scenes of judgment (1:2—2:6; 3:1-12; and 6:1—7:7) there occur interpolations and interruptions which are attributed to the editor and which, as e.g. 2:12-13, show the place of the prophet's message in Israel's worship life. Chapters 4-5 complement the message of judgment by unfolding God's plan for the course of history in eight pictures, which taken together reflect God's will for the "last days" (4:1). The author deliberately uses the word "predictive prophecy" [*Weissagung*] here and draws the connections between these chapters and the church of the

New Testament. At the same time, e.g. in 4:11-13 (the "holy war"), the differences between God's word to Israel and his word to the church of the new covenant become apparent: while rejecting the idea of crusades the author believes that the validity of the word of the Old Testament is to be seen in the fact that "God carries on his wars in such a way that even in defeat his church spells destruction to its foes" (p. 104). Here and throughout the special purpose of the exegesis emerges: to make the findings of scholarly research available and applicable for preaching. The last section, "The Book of Micah in the Worship Service," interprets 7:8-20 as a four-part liturgy of the exile congregation: penitence, promise, prayer and praise.

Historical Theology

GESAMMELTE SCHRIFTEN. BAND 1: ÖKUMENE. BRIEFE, AUFSÄTZE, DOKUMENTE, 1928 - 1942 [*Collected Writings. Vol. 1: The Ecumenical World. Letters, Essays, and Documents, 1928-1942*]. By Dietrich Bonhoeffer. Edited by Eberhard Bethge. Munich: Christian Kaiser Verlag, 1958. 550 pp., DM 21.50.

This volume, edited by Bonhoeffer's friend Eberhard Bethge, is an attempt to gather together all of Bonhoeffer's writings and documents, some of them scattered and difficult of access, which contribute to a picture of the personal and theological development of Dietrich Bonhoeffer from the time when he was intern pastor in Barcelona in 1928 to the last phase of the church struggle in 1942. At the same time, a picture of recent church history at both the German and the ecumenical levels emerges. The first part of the book contains primarily letters and reports from 1930-31, the year Bonhoeffer had a scholarship to Union Theological Seminary in New York. Here, in encounter with American church life and theology, including the social gospel, Bonhoeffer's own thought developed. There follow writings and sermons from his term as youth secretary of the World Alliance for Promoting International Friendship through the Churches, from 1931-1933. Here the central question is the theological basis of ecumenical work. Truth must come before unity, but

in such a way that the church allows itself to be called by truth to repentance. "Absoluteness of claim and humility are equally a part of repentance according to the Lutheran understanding of the church" (p. 180). The section "The Confessing Church and the Ecumenical World," which shows Bonhoeffer in his struggle to have the Confessing Church and its stand recognized by the Christians outside Germany, paves the way for the decisive part, "America, 1939," those letters and pages of his diary which accompanied his decision on grounds of conscience to return home to his brethren immediately before the outbreak of war in order to shoulder his share of the burden. The last section of the volume contains the stirring reports of the secret contacts which Bonhoeffer made with Christians outside Germany on into the early war years. His meeting with the Bishop of Chichester, G.K.A. Bell, in Stockholm in May, 1942, and the subsequent correspondence between the bishop and the British foreign secretary Anthony Eden, is very well-documented. An appendix gives the German translation of material which was originally in English.

GEBER — GABE — AUFGABE. LUTHERS PROPHETIE IN DEN ENTSCHEIDUNGSJAHREN SEINER REFORMATION 1520 - 1525 [*The Giver, the Gift, the Task. Luther the Prophet in the Decisive Years of his Reformation, 1520 - 1525*]. (*Forschungen zur Geschichte und Lehre des Protestantismus*, 10. Reihe, Bd. XIII.) By Ekkehard Börsch. Munich: Christian Kaiser Verlag, 1958. 132 pp., DM 9.00.

This study is essentially a questioning of Luther's theological stance and his conduct during the decisive years of the Reformation, 1520 to 1525. This is true also of the sections "Giver," "Gift," and "Task," where the author attempts to develop Luther's theology under these three headings on the basis of his writings in that period. The point of departure for the almost innumerable questions bears a strong Barthian stamp. A historical examination of the period in question is undertaken only insofar as it can provide the background for the questions addressed to Luther. The author concentrates on those features which make Luther's repudiation of the reforms undertaken in his absence appear illogical and his aloofness toward the Enthusiasts (par-

ticularly Carlstadt, but also Müntzer) arbitrary.

CALVIN, SEIN WEG UND SEIN WERK [*Calvin, the Man and his Work*]. By Willem F. Dankbaar. Neukirchen/Moers: Neukirchner Verlag, 1958. 240 pp., DM 13.80.

This book is a translation of a Dutch biography of Calvin. On the basis of his thorough acquaintance with the sources and problems of Calvin research the author draws a detailed picture of the Geneva reformer, his personal development and his work; numerous (translated) quotations serve to document the presentation. The author is careful not to overload the presentation with discussion of individual historical questions; consequently lay people will also find the book of interest. Special mention should be made of the numerous carefully reproduced pictures of Calvin and other figures of his day and of historic places connected with the Reformation.

THE NEW CAMBRIDGE MODERN HISTORY, Vol. II, "The Reformation." Edited by G. R. Elton. London: Cambridge University Press, 1958. 600 pp., 37s. 6d.

This is the second volume of the new series of the Cambridge Modern History, replacing the famous old series of forty years ago. It presents a summary of the age of Luther, Zwingli and Calvin, from 1520-1559. The chapter on Luther is written by Gordon Rupp, an outstanding Luther scholar of Great Britain. The purpose of the volume is to cover the period from all angles and so present a total picture of the time. Consequently it offers a good starting point for anyone who desires a comprehensive understanding of the Reformation. One receives a picture of both the religious and secular situation. Individual chapters are devoted to such areas as the economic situation, the intellectual atmosphere of the age (including the schools and universities), the political thought, the military picture and the roles played by eastern Europe, the Ottoman Empire and the New World.

LUTHERS PREDIGT VON GESETZ UND EVANGELIUM [*Luther's Preaching on Law and Gospel*]. (*Forschungen zur Geschichte und Lehre des Protestantismus*,

10. Reihe, Bd. XI.) By Gerhard Heintze. Munich: Christian Kaiser Verlag, 1958. 291 pp., paper bound DM 13.20, cloth bound DM 15.80.

"The concern underlying this study is a practical one. Our question is not: 'How can we *teach* properly concerning law and gospel?' but 'How can we properly *preach* law and gospel?'... The question of the preaching of law and gospel is to be addressed in what follows specifically to Luther...." This is the approach of the author of this work. He arrives at the conclusion that Luther's "basic insight, which he preserved at all times," consisted in seeing *God's* action in relation to man as a succession of humiliation and exaltation, wrath and grace, law and gospel. To be distinguished from this is Luther's "homiletical advice to the *earthly preacher* to first preach repentance according to the law and only after that to preach the gospel." This advice is found in Luther only in the period after 1522 (p. 97 f.). Finally, Heintze takes up the question of Luther's preaching on the distinction between the two kingdoms and demonstrates that in spite of the basic distinction he always made between the two kingdoms, Luther was able in a concrete situation to argue from the gospel for a transformation of injustices in the political realm (p. 191 ff.). The author hopes that these two results of his study will stimulate further discussion on the subject in Lutheran theology.

ZUM STREIT UM DIE ÜBERWINDUNG DES GESETZES. ERÖRTERUNGEN ZU LUTHERS ANTINOMERTHESEN [*The Controversy on the Overcoming of the Law. Some Observations on Luther's Antinomian Theses*]. By Rudolf Hermann. Weimar: Hermann Böhlau's Nachfolger, 1958. 52 pp., DM 3.50.

In this small but compact work the author attempts to isolate and investigate some problems posed by Luther's theses in his disputation with Johann Agricola in the years 1537-40 (WA 39, 1). Hermann first shows that the heart of the antinomian controversy is the question of the way in which the law is overcome: whereas Agricola and his followers want to dispense with teaching the law of Moses on the grounds that Christ and his love are the real call to repentance for the Christian, Luther asserted that it is

only in conjunction with the law which Christ has overcome that faith can come to know Christ and lay hold of him. For even Christ's call to repentance and his preaching of the gospel are a preaching of the law for the sinner, insofar as through them the will of God becomes manifest. That is to say, Luther, in contrast to the antinomians, interprets the law functionally: it is—independently of its author—everything in life which confronts one as duty and which accuses the conscience; it is not so much a statute as a principle (p. 20). The person who wants to detach Christ from the law as thus defined makes of Christ a mere teacher of salvation, who shows the way to virtue, but who for this very reason can give no help to the despairing conscience. But above all Christ is the fulfiller of the law through his *satisfactio*. Thus God did not send his Son to abolish the law in order to replace it by grace; he rather imputes to us Christ's righteousness, which does not mean that the fulfillment of the law in us and through us is set aside. At this point Hermann comments that Luther restricts Christ's work by conceiving of it too dogmatically and juridically. He would rather speak of "overcoming the law in the sense of dealing with it" [once and for all] (p. 42). In conclusion he examines Luther's statements on the eschatological overcoming of the law: the fulfilling of the law which is already granted to us now comes exclusively from *fides*, whereas in eternity the relationship to Christ will be determined by *charitas*, the love which no longer needs forgiveness.

BEATITUDO OCH SAPIENTIA. *Augustinus och de antika filosofskolornas diskussion om människans livsmål* [*Beatitudo and Sapientia. Augustine and the Discussion in Ancient Philosophy of the Goal of Human Existence*]. By Ragnar Holte. Stockholm: Svenska Kyrkans Diakonistyrelses Bokförlag, 1958. 416 pp., Sw.Kr. 30.00.

In Augustine's thought, says Holte, there is a synthesis of Christianity and ancient philosophy. It is not something Augustine consciously strove for, as a compromise. It developed organically from the fact that Augustine found the basic question confronting him in the whole of ancient philosophy—the question of the *telos* (*finis bonorum*)—not only asked in Scripture but also definitively answered there. In the first

part of the book Holte begins by sketching philosophical speculation on the *telos* in its various facets in Aristotle, the Epicureans, Stoics, Peripatetics, Skeptics and Neo-Platonism. In all of these the *telos* and its attainment are given potentially in the nature of man, in the highest level of his soul, not in deity outside him. The second part demonstrates that Augustine's synthesis has its roots to a greater degree than has hitherto been assumed in the Christian tradition preceding him and in its philosophical eclecticism. There are connections especially with Alexandrian gnosticism. In the third part, especially in the 20th chapter, Holte examines Augustine's own speculation on the *telos* with reference to his anthropology and ethics. He rejects the Kantian antithesis of eudaemonism and conformity to duty as misleading when used to interpret Augustine. For Augustine the duality of the *frui* and the *uti* was not an inner contradiction in his concept of love (Nygren); there was an ontological connection between the two deriving from Platonic and Stoic psychology and ethics and Augustine believed, furthermore, that the duality was to be found directly in Scripture (John 17:3 and Matt. 22: 37). Augustine's speculation concerning the *telos* is also reflected, as Holte demonstrates in the fourth part, in the way Augustine relates the authority of the church and reason, revelation through Scripture and through creation, i.e., in Augustine's concept of faith and his hermeneutics. Thus the external word, like creation, does not really mediate spiritual reality, but it does incite us to seek God, a search which leads to gradual inner enlightenment. Faith is a lower stage of knowledge; true, it too bestows the *parvuli beatitudo*, but it still points in the direction of full apprehension (*sapientia*).

DIE KINDERTAUFEN IN DEN ERSTEN VIER JAHRHUNDERTEN [*Infant Baptism in the First Four Centuries*]. By Joachim Jeremias. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1958. 127 pp., DM 13.50.

This is a completely revised edition of the author's *Hat die älteste Christenheit die Kindertaufe geübt?*, which first appeared in 1938; in this new edition the author takes full account of the abundant material which has come to light in the meantime. The change in title is already an indication that

a question has grown into an assertion: the primitive church *did* practice infant baptism. There are no longer any doubts about this. A careful analysis of various New Testament passages, interpreted in the context of other data from the comparative study of religions, make it appear certain that in primitive Christianity children were baptized. On the other hand, at first the children of Christian parents were not baptized, but this practice changed very early, probably around 60 or 70 A.D., so that from that time onwards we can reckon generally with infant baptism. The author draws this conclusion in part from the pericope on the blessing of children (Mk. 10:13-16), inferring from it some references to infant baptism. Then he examines the testimony of the primitive church, which likewise makes clear that early Christianity practiced infant baptism. He concludes, especially on the basis of Origen, that the practice of infant baptism was general in the east. The same applies to the west. Here the author appeals not only to literary sources, but also to pictures and inscriptions which begin to appear from 200 A.D. onward. While infant baptism later entered a crisis because of the custom of postponing baptism, the crisis was overcome conclusively in the Pelagian controversies.

BORDSÄMTAL [*Table Talk*]. By Martin Luther. Edited by Gunnar Hillerdal. Stockholm: Natur och Kultur, 1957. 140 pp., Sw.Kr. 7.25.

This is a selection from Luther's *Table Talk* which is of importance not only because it is in modern Swedish dress but above all because it is the first edition in Swedish to be based on the Weimar text. The material is divided into seven groups according to content, with titles such as "The Road to Reformation," "Luther and his Contemporaries," "The Bible: A Singular Book." Each section is followed by the date, reference to page and source in the Weimar edition. The whole is preceded by an introduction in which the author deals with the transmission of the text of the *Table Talk* up to E. Krokers' critical edition, with the general nature of the *Table Talk* and the principles determining translation of it. The author is a Luther scholar and lecturer at Lund University.

LUTHER'S WORKS. Vol. 14: SELECTED PSALMS III. Edited by Jaroslav Pelikan. St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1958. 368 pp., \$5.00.

This third volume on the Psalms in the American edition of Luther has like the others been prepared by Pelikan himself. It contains exegeses of psalms of various categories (penitential, comfort, general) from several periods of Luther's life. The expositions of Psalms 1 and 2 (a composite translation) come from the second series of lectures on the Psalms, 1518 (WA V, 26-74). The seven penitential psalms (translated by Arnold Guebert), which in their first edition in 1517 were the first book prepared by Luther himself for publication, are here reproduced in the revised edition of 1525 (WA XVIII, 479-530). Luther's commentary on the four psalms of comfort (37, 62, 94, 109) dates from the year 1526; he dedicated this commentary to Queen Mary of Hungary after the death of her husband (translation by Jaroslav Pelikan; WA XIX, 552-615). The expositions of Psalms 117 (translated by Edward Sittler) and 118 (translated by George Beto) were written at Coburg Castle "in the summer of 1530, while the cause of the Reformation was struggling for its life at the Diet of Augsburg and Luther was standing by virtually helpless" (both from WA XXXI, 1). The exposition of Psalm 147: 12-20, also translated by Edward Sittler (WA XXXI, 1), was composed in 1531 and is dedicated to Luther's friend Hans Löser. The index was compiled by Walter A. Hansen.

LUTHER'S WORKS. Vol. 32: CAREER OF THE REFORMER II. General editor, Helmut T. Lehmann; Vol. 32 edited by George W. Forell. Philadelphia: Muhlenberg Press, 1958. 303 pp., \$5.00.

This volume contains four writings from the period 1521-1525 which show Luther as the defender of the gospel which he had rediscovered. (1) Luther's reply to the accusations of the bull *Exsurge Domine* threatening him with excommunication, "Defense and Explanation of All the Articles of Dr. Martin Luther which were Unjustly Condemned by the Roman Bull," of March, 1521 (WA 7, 308-357). (2) There follow two of the reports on Luther's appearance before the Diet of Worms: "Acta et Res Gestae D. Martini Lutheri in Comitibus Principum

Wormatiae" (WA 7, 814-857), written by a group of Luther's friends (very probably under the direction of Justus Jonas) and a document from the opposing camp, the minutes of the meeting by Aleander, the papal nuncio. (3) The longest section of the volume is taken up by the polemical writing "Against Latomus" (1521) in which Luther attacks this theologian of Louvain University and thereby gives the first systematic summary of his ideas on the proper interpretation of Scripture (WA 8, 43-128). (4) Finally there is a popular writing from this period, which shows Luther in the role of pastor and comforter in the midst of his struggles. This is his open letter to the Christians of Bremen on the burning of Brother Henry of Zütphen, a witness to the faith who had been murdered in Dithmarschen; the letter also includes an explanation of the 9th Psalm ("The Burning of Brother Henry in Dithmarschen, Including an Explanation of the Ninth Psalm," WA 18, 224-240). The English text of the first and fourth sections of the volume is a revision of the translation in the Philadelphia edition. The reports of the Diet of Worms and the writing "Against Latomus" are new translations by Roger Hornsby (The State University of Iowa) and George Lindbeck (Yale Divinity School). The introduction to the volume as a whole, individual introductions to the separate sections and explanatory notes are by George Forell.

LUTHERS SPRACHPHILOSOPHIE [Luther's Philosophy of Language]. By Peter Meinhold. Berlin: Lutherisches Verlagshaus, 1958. 63 pp., DM 5.20.

The author takes as his starting point the unity of word and Spirit in Luther which is found already in the lectures on the Psalms of 1513-1514. Luther's view of language as a divine ordinance in which human speech and divine Spirit unite leads him to his sense of responsibility in regard to the spoken word and to hearing. At one time it was the prophets and Jesus who were the media for God's Spirit, now it is public preaching (Chapter 1). The fundamentally theological basis of Luther's view of language postulates the necessity of translating the Bible and the new order of worship into the language of the people. On the other hand Luther believes every language is sanctified insofar as it is used as a vehicle for the divine word

(Chapter 2). Luther's thinking on language is thus clearly opposed to the antithesis between the "inward" and "outward" word found in Enthusiasm (Franck, Carlstadt), which regarded the inward word as the expression of a reality which exists independently of the outward word and can only be felt (Chapter 3). He is also opposed to Humanism's exegesis (the four-fold sense of Scripture) and its one-sided emphasis upon the educational value of language (Chapter 4). Luther's philosophy of language acquires depth particularly in his controversy with Zwingli over the words of institution of the Lord's Supper, in which Luther comes to a distinction between the "essence" and the "significance" of a thing. Luther is then in a position to make linguistic comparisons and finally, in his lectures on Genesis, to develop his interpretation of the "original state" of language. It was not until the miracle of Pentecost that the unity of word and spirit destroyed by the building of the tower of Babel was reestablished (Chapter 5). The final chapter outlines Luther's place in Christian philosophy of language. At the end the author summarizes the significance of the main points of his study for the present day.

GESETZ UND EVANGELIUM IN DER LUTHERISCHEN THEOLOGIE DES 19. JAHRHUNDERTS [*Law and Gospel in Lutheran Theology of the 19th Century*]. (*Arbeiten zur Geschichte und Theologie des Luthertums, Bd. IV.*) By Robert C. Schultz. Berlin: Lutherisches Verlagshaus, 1958. 200 pp., DM 13.80.

This work, the author's doctoral thesis at Erlangen, sets out to trace the course of the struggle connected with the rebirth of Lutheran theology in the 19th century by discussing the changing relations between law and gospel in the theology of that period. In the first part ("The Situation at the Beginning of the 19th Century"), the author shows how pietism, the Enlightenment and supernaturalism all failed to recognize the necessity of distinguishing law from gospel. The second part ("Law and Gospel in Theology under the Influence of Idealistic Philosophy") compares Schleiermacher and the mediating theologians (especially Marheineke and Nitzsch): whereas Schleiermacher in his antinomianism (which lived on in Ritschl) completely rejects the preaching of the law

because he finds the idea of an angry God inadequate, the mediating theologians attempt to fit the law-gospel antithesis into the Hegelian pattern of history. There thus arises the distinction—which was to have momentous consequences—between the form of the law (given in the religion of the Old Testament and rendered obsolete by Christianity) and its content (which in the gospel has come to an end in a higher synthesis). In the third part ("The Restoration of Lutheran Theology") the author then shows how even Thomasius, Sartorius and Vilmar were unable to free themselves from this pattern of thought. Since for them the tension between God's holiness and his love has been done away with and holiness and love have become identical, the gospel becomes a continuation of the law on a higher level, as it were. But precisely this reduces the value of God's love. It was "Erlangen theology," with which the author deals in the fourth part, which first perceived the problem more clearly again; but Harless and Theodosius Harnack are reproached with having taken too little account in their practical theology of the antithesis between law and gospel. This gives the author occasion to point to C. F. W. Walther, the spiritual father of the Missouri Synod, as the only theologian of the 19th century to recognize the consequences of this doctrine for systematic, exegetical and practical theology. In contrast to Walther, von Hofman's *heilsgeschichtlich* approach, which superseded Erlangen theology, paved the way for Ritschl's "union theology," which takes up anew the position of Agricola and the antinomians.

MARTIN LUTHER. SEIN LEBEN IN BILDERN UND ZEITDOKUMENTEN [*The Life of Martin Luther Portrayed through Pictures and Contemporary Documents*]. By Oskar Thulin. Munich & Berlin: Deutscher Kunstverlag, 1958. 188 pp., 103 plates, DM 17.00.

This is an attempt by the director of the *Lutherhalle* at Wittenberg to depict all the local, historical, human and theological aspects of Luther's life through contemporary documents (some from Luther's own pen and some from those of his friends and opponents) and through paintings and photographs. The text is arranged chronologically and includes references to parallel historical and cultural events. Of Luther's own sayings it is chiefly

his letters and autobiographical passages from the *Table Talk* which are included, the chief emphasis lying on the sketching of Luther's personality. But the Reformer's friends, co-workers and students also have their say. This part concludes with extracts from reports on Luther's death and funeral. The picture section contains in addition to the familiar likenesses and portraits much little-known material, e.g., the picture of the dead Luther by Furttenagel and the drawing by Luther's famulus Reifenstein in a book belonging to Melanchthon, probably the last drawing made during Luther's lifetime.

WORT UND MYSTERIUM. *Der Briefwechsel über Glaube und Kirche 1573 bis 1581 zwischen den Tübinger Theologen und dem Patriarchen von Konstantinopel* [Word and Mystery. The Correspondence on Faith and the Church from 1573 to 1581 between the Tübingen Theologians and the Patriarch of Constantinople]. Edited by the Office of External Affairs of the Evangelical Church in Germany in "Documents from the Orthodox Church Bearing on the Ecumenical Question," Vol. II. Witten: Luther Verlag, 1958. 300 pp., DM 26.00.

The publication of this exchange of correspondence throws much light on the ecumenical breadth of early Lutheran orthodoxy. At the same time it brings out clearly the theological differences between the Greek Orthodox church and the Lutheran church with its roots deep in western tradition. The dispatch of Melanchthon's Greek translation of the Augsburg Confession to the Patriarch, on the recommendation of the Württemberg preacher Stephan Gerlach who accompanied the imperial legation to Turkey, introduces three series of letters. This lengthy correspondence is introduced by Hildegard Schaefer, who also translated and annotated the correspondence and added to it numerous pieces of evidence from Orthodox and Lutheran theology, an appendix of illustrations, detailed bibliographical references, subject index, index of persons and an index to Scripture passages (in two versions for Lutheran and Orthodox theologians). The editor draws attention to the fact that the correspondence tackles vital theological themes at issue between the two confessions: "Scripture and tradition, justification and salvation, the grace of faith and the energy of grace, word

and mystery (sacrament)" (p. 25). The Protestant *sola* and the Orthodox *panta* (e.g. with reference to Scripture and tradition, God and man, Christ and the saints) remain ultimately alongside and even opposed to one another, so that the Patriarch Jeremiah II finally breaks off the correspondence, in language unequivocal but at the same time polite and almost "fraternal."

Systematic Theology

ZUR LEHRE VOM HEILIGEN ABENDMAHL. *Bericht über das Abendmahls-gespräch der Evangelischen Kirche in Deutschland 1947-1957 und Erläuterungen seines Ergebnisses* [The Doctrine of Holy Communion. A Report on the Discussions on Holy Communion in the EKID, 1947-1957, with Comments on the Results]. By G. Niemeier, in collaboration with H. Gollwitzer, W. Kreck and H. Meyer. Munich: Christian Kaiser Verlag, 1958. 48 pp., DM 2.00.

Niemeier's foreword to this booklet and his report on the progress of the discussions on Holy Communion held at the request of the council of the Evangelical Church in Germany (EKID) between 1947 and 1957 is followed by the eight theses which resulted from the discussions and were unanimously accepted by the Lutheran, Reformed and United theologians who took part in the discussions. The theses seek to state what answers theologians of different confessions, "taking into account the most recent findings of New Testament exegesis, can give in common to the question of the essence, the gift and the reception of Holy Communion" (p. 15). The theses are not intended, however, as a full-blown doctrine of communion. The last part of the book is taken up by three interpretative reports. H. Gollwitzer emphasizes in his statement to the council and the church conference of the EKID that the ecclesiological consequences of the discussions (for example in the form of full intercommunion within the EKID) still have to be dealt with separately. The discussions did not aim at finding a compromise formula, he says. H. Meyer and W. Kreck come to similar conclusions in their statements representing Lutheran and Reformed standpoints respectively.

DAS SOGENANNTHE KERYGMA UND DER HISTORISCHE JESUS [*The So-called Kerygma and the Historical Jesus*]. (*Beiträge zur Förderung christlicher Theologie, Bd. 48.*) By Paul Althaus. Gütersloh: Carl Bertelsmann Verlag, 1958. 52 pp., DM 4.80.

In this booklet the well-known Erlangen systematician defines his stand on Bultmann's and Gogarten's demand for a disengagement of the kerygma, and thus of christology, from the question of the historical Jesus. While Althaus concedes that Martin Kähler's statement of the scientific impossibility of reconstructing a "historical Jesus" is still valid today, he also maintains that the apostolic kerygma must always be understood as bearing witness to the history underlying it. He begins with a criticism of Bultmann's and Gogarten's concept of "historicity" [*Geschichtlichkeit*] which, he says, not only diverges from the usual scholarly use of the term but also almost renders superfluous the historically factual. He then shows that the law of God which makes demands of man and presents him with the necessity of decision is, to be sure, not bound to past events, but that the gospel in order to win man over to faith must draw upon its well-spring, the concrete picture of the man Jesus. If the Christ-event is not to become mere mythology, the historical events must be investigated with the methods of modern scholarship. The certainty of faith which grows out of the personal encounter of man with Christ as his Lord is to be distinguished from this inquiry into history. In conclusion Althaus states that christology must go beyond mere existentialist statements—of the kind made by Bultmann—if it is not to neglect important sections of the New Testament, such as Romans 8.

MENNESKET I KULTUREN [*Man and Culture*]. By Tor Aukrust. Oslo: Forlaget Land og Kirke, 1958. 266 pp.

Man shapes culture, says Aukrust. Culture and civilization, on the other hand, mold human life in its particular form at every stage of its development. Culture and civilization should conform to man's need and interest; however, there is always a risk that man may suffer under the actual conditions of society, since the components of his culture do not develop in the right proportions, in harmonious order. Aukrust thinks

this is the case in our age. Immanuel Kant pointed to three constituents of culture which are self-evident and can therefore be regarded as valid a priori: science, ethics and art. Schleiermacher and Nygren tried to demonstrate the a priori nature of religion. Aukrust adds a fifth component: technology. His thesis is that culture can sicken if one of its constituents develops excessively at the expense of the others. This is our situation; there is a clear hypertrophy of technology from which we all suffer. Aukrust attempts to analyze this development. Among other things, he refers to Weber's and Troeltsch's thoughts on the relations between Calvinism and capitalism. On the whole, Aukrust is cautious in his judgments, but he does not hesitate to say that the church has given to modern life many impulses which the theologians have not in later times directed properly. Indeed, secular life gradually became autonomous. In the last chapter Aukrust discusses the meaning of history in the light of the Christian faith. Our age needs a new anthropology. The church and Christian thinkers can and should set one forth. But the most vital task of the church today is to reinterpret the message about Christ's presence and the doctrine of justification by faith. This certainly is not the same as to present an infallible remedy for the crisis of culture. On the other hand, the Christian message is capable of shaping and reshaping history.

ELITE. By Gerhard Gloege. Stuttgart: Kreuz-Verlag, 1958. 174 pp., DM 7.80.

This book consists of three lectures dealing with questions of life lived within the social orders of today. In the first lecture, "The Germans and their National Consciousness—Repetition or Renewal?" Gloege, systematician at Jena in East Germany, examines the emergence of German national consciousness in the 19th century: born in the wars of independence, it soon allied itself with pseudo-religious impulses and developed into a secular belief in election. The author calls for the renewal of a genuine national consciousness which, he says, can only come through repentance. Such repentance should embrace the past (collective guilt), the present and the future and have as its aims justice, responsibility and freedom. In the second lecture, "The Nature and Formation of an Elite," after rejecting Nietzsche's ideal

of the superman, the author describes the concept of the elite as something to be interpreted not sociologically but existentially: the elite is the fellowship of those who have been awakened to selfhood (p. 90). The gospel knows of no election as such, *apart* from God's action, but only of election by God, creating an elite: God in Jesus Christ forms for himself through love a new elite from among the mass (p. 110). Thus the church is itself an elite, for which reason there can no longer be elite groups within it, but only offices and ministries. The elite nature of the church is demonstrated in its responsibility for the world as a whole and in its vicarious suffering. In the third lecture, "The Transformation of the Community through the Discovery of Our Fellowman," the author shows the reciprocal relation between the individual and the community, seen in the fact that degeneration of the community renders one's fellowman degenerate. For the Christian, of the ideals of the French revolution that of brotherhood must occupy first place, because in Christ we have encountered our true fellowman who places us under the fatherhood of God. Thus for us the righteousness of God in the Old Testament, in the sense of "fellowship" rooted in Christ, becomes the motive for the formation of true human community.

DIE DOGMATIK DER EVANGELISCH-REFORMIERTEN KIRCHE [*Reformed Dogmatics*]. By Heinrich Hepp and Ernst Bizer. Neukirchen/Moers: Neukirchner Verlag, 2nd edition, 1958. 584 pp., DM 26.70.

"Hepp," like its Lutheran counterpart "Schmid," has been out of print for a long time. The reprint of this work which was published in a revised edition twenty years ago is a good aid to the study of Reformed dogmatics. A collection of sources such as this one gives rise to certain reservations (some of which Karl Barth called attention to in the foreword to the first edition), but anyone who wants to make a serious study of Reformed dogmatics of the 16th and 17th centuries on the basis of the sources will reach for this book, since the sources are now difficult of access. The texts are arranged according to loci, the whole being divided into 28 topics, from *de theologia naturali et revelata* to *de glorificatione*. The content of each locus is briefly outlined, following which a long series of illustrative passages

from various systems of dogmatics is given: Calvin and Bucer, Ursinus and Olevian, Turretin and the federal theologians, and finally Wyttenbach, Endemann and Bernsau, in whom the transition to rationalism is already complete. Bizer revised the new edition of Hepp more than twenty years ago and checked it carefully against the sources. The present reprinting is unchanged except for the addition of a historical introduction summarizing the most important facts about the dogmatists represented.

TEOLOGISK OCH FILOSOFISK ETIK [*Theological and Philosophical Ethics*]. By Gunnar Hillerdal. Stockholm: Svenska bokförlaget, 1958. 274 pp., Sw.Kr. 26.00.

This book is part of the new series "Scandinavian University Books," an inter-Scandinavian series of handbooks for use in classes at universities. It is intended in the first place as a contribution to discussion on the method of theological ethics. In the first section the author first gives a sketch of the characteristic features of New Testament ethics in its confrontation with the philosophical ethics of antiquity. There then follows a summary of the synthesizing solution of the problem to which this confrontation gave rise, a solution which characterizes developments up to late scholasticism. This section closes with a survey of the shattering of the medieval synthesis in late scholasticism, the Renaissance and Luther. The second section of the book, "Some Modern Attempts at a Solution," is introduced by an analysis of Roman Catholic solutions, especially those of neo-Thomism. Then the author turns to the Protestant field, and after a critical examination of Schleiermacher's synthesizing definition of the relation between theological and philosophical ethics, he turns to the solution of the problem proposed by Anders Nygren in his work *Philosophical and Christian Ethics*. Finally a number of radical solutions to the problem are analyzed, e.g. the complete abandonment of theological ethics as an independent discipline (W. Herrmann, K. E. Løgstrup), or the idea that Christianity solves the dilemma of philosophical ethics (T. Bohlin, E. Brunner). In the last part of the book the author discusses "The Principles of Theological Ethics," in which he gives his own attempt at a solution. He first defines the field of study and the tasks of theological

ethics, taking as his point of departure the New Testament parenesis. He emphasizes the importance of analyzing modern social orders, which he interprets as concretions of divine law. Finally he deals with the independent status of theological ethics as a scholarly discipline, proceeding from an analysis of the New Testament concept of faith and the nature of revelation. His conclusion is that the realistic nature of faith explodes all attempts to limit it to one scientific system, but that at the same time theological ethics must be constantly confronted anew with various philosophies.

KVINNAN, SAMHÄLLET, KYRKAN [Women, Society and the Church]. Edited by Ruben Josefson. Stockholm: Svenska Kyrkans Diakonistyrelses Bokförlag, 1958. 196 pp., Sw.Kr. 12.00.

This book on the question of women pastors by the social commission of the central board of voluntary work of the Swedish church contains a number of contributions which may well be of importance for finding a theological and an ecclesiastical solution to the broader question of women in the church. K.-G. Hildebrand gives a brief sketch of the history of women's emancipation, G. Hedenström examines the social implications of the biological and psychological characteristics of women and B. Rodhe the work of women in the Swedish church thus far. The most comprehensive contribution comes from K.-M. Olsson, "Women at Work..." which portrays the situation of women today and presents important aspects of Lutheran social ethics which bear on the problem. Love is the socio-ethical principle in all changeable situations, he says, and reason the guiding principle of love. K. Stendahl interprets the controversial New Testament passages on the relation of man and woman and concludes that the central message of Christ can be separated in principle from the social structure of the ancient world which, he says, was a product of its time. Ruben Josefson comes to a similar conclusion in his analysis of Luther and the confessions, in which he pays particular attention to their interpretation of Scripture. According to Lutheran teaching the Bible cannot be understood as a collection of rules governing church and society; in fact it is precisely Luther's concept of the law (*lex universalis*) which forbids such a view.

Finally, I. Ström summarizes the findings of these studies.

SCHÖPFUNG UND ERLÖSUNG, DOGMATIK, BAND 1: *Prolegomena: Die Lehre von der Schöpfung* [Creation and Redemption. Dogmatics, Vol. 1: Prolegomena, The Doctrine of Creation]. By Regin Prenter. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1958. DM 19.20.

Perhaps three characteristics of this Danish Lutheran dogmatics can be stressed here, as far as these can be judged from a reading of the first volume. (1) Prenter's is the biblical approach. "Dogmatics works with an eye to determining the validity of the biblical witness for today" (p. 172). In his prolegomena and his treatment of the doctrine of creation Prenter therefore offers many penetrating exegeses, always relating them to the church of the present day and its counterparts in the Christian and non-Christian world. (2) Prenter's dogmatics is bound to *dogma*, meaning first the basic confession of the Triune God in worship but also (if understood properly) the basic insights of the specifically Lutheran dogmas, *sola scriptura* and *sola fide*, which he regards as a confession of the God of historical revelation and a witness to the fact that the sole foundation of salvation is faith in the testimony of Scripture to this revelation. Faith in the testimony of Scripture is scriptural only when it sees that testimony as *gospel*; but this presupposes encounter with the law of God (in the twofold sense) in everyday life. (3) Finally, as compared with Lundensian dogmatics, e.g., Prenter's has a strong "human" accent: it takes seriously the permanent creatureliness of the non-Christian man and therefore accords him a limited right to theologize. Even though Prenter lists some good reasons for rejecting an independent theological anthropology, he has some remarks to make on the "man of creation" and the "God of creation" in which he draws upon the anthropological insights of other disciplines. The great "fathers" of Danish theology, Sören Kierkegaard and N. F. S. Grundtvig, also have their say.

DER STANDORT DER THEOLOGIE IN UNSERER ZEIT [Contemporary Theology]. (Kleine Vandenhoeck-Reihe Nr. 62.) By Hans-Rudolf Müller-Schwefe. Göttingen:

Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1958. 66 pp., DM 2.40.

The author begins with a short description of our present cultural situation, which he says owes its character to the forward thrust of secular thought and to the fact that religious experience, while it does exist, "cannot, or can no longer, be regarded as an indication of the reality of God" (p. 26). He then attempts to portray the situation of contemporary theology, by drawing attention to the striking parallels between present-day theology and modern art. Thus Rudolf Bultmann is the abstract formalist while Karl Barth, especially in his early period, belongs to the expressionist school. Through these and other examples the author shows how seriously present-day theology, whose most distinguished representative is Karl Barth, takes the thought and feeling of our day and is struggling to achieve an adequate expression for the message of the church.

SYSTEMATISCHE THEOLOGIE. BAND II [*Systematic Theology, Volume II*]. By Paul Tillich. Stuttgart: Evangelisches Verlagswerk. 1958. 194 pp., paper bound, DM 11.20, cloth bound, DM 12.80.

This is the German version of *Systematic Theology, Volume II*, published by the University of Chicago Press in 1957. It has been checked and in many respects reworked by the author. Prof. Tillich begins with an introduction in which he reformulates several answers given in Volume I and describes once more his method of the "theological circle." He then proceeds to the third major section of his system, "Existence and the Christ." In accordance with his "correlation" method, Tillich takes the human situation as his point of departure and defines it as "estrangement": man participates in the division of reality into "essential" and "existential" levels, since "to exist" means according to the etymology of the word "to stand out of non-being" (p. 27), but it is at the same time a "standing out" of essential being. Thus, says Tillich, existentialism properly understood is an "analysis of the human predicament" (p. 32) which demands a religious answer and is thus a "natural ally of Christianity" (p. 33). The biblical account of the Fall is interpreted by Tillich as a symbolic representation of this transition from essence to existence, in which, it is true,

creation and the Fall coincide and yet the guilt of the Fall is retained. Estrangement manifests itself in sin, unbelief, hybris and concupiscence. Its consequences are the conflict of the "ontological polarities": "freedom and destiny," "dynamics and form," "individualization and participation." Into this situation comes the symbol of Christ as the epitome of the New Being in which estrangement is overcome. Christ as the mediator is not an ontological reality alongside God and man; he "represents to those who live under the conditions of existence what man essentially is and therefore ought to be" (p. 103). Even if the historical picture of the man Jesus cannot be verified, we still have the so-called "analogia imaginis": the reality of the New Being which the disciples encountered can stand for the personal life which is behind it. In spite of sharp criticism of the christological conceptions of the early church, Tillich wants to retain its basic concern insofar as it helped to preserve the Christ-character and the Jesus-character alongside one another in the event of Jesus as the Christ: for this is the meaning of the symbol of the cross, that here the man Jesus gives himself to the Christ, whereas the event of the resurrection is to be sought in the experience of the disciples that the bearer of this New Being was not separated from them. The remaining christological statements about pre- and post-existence, and also eschatology, are understood as symbols corroborating the cross and resurrection. They place the Christian in the era between the *kairos* and in the tension between the "already" and the "not yet" of the New Being.

DAS PROTESTANTISCHE WAGNIS [*The Dare of Protestantism*]. By Hans Hermann Walz. Stuttgart: Kreuz Verlag, 1958. 174 pp., DM 7.80.

This book grew out of lectures delivered by the executive secretary of the German Kirchentag. He raises fundamental questions which he says present-day ecclesiastical and theological thought and action in Germany have not yet solved. Both the contempt showered on neo-Protestantism by dialectical theology and the Roman Catholic slogan of the "end of the modern era" have pushed to one side, but by no means done away with, the Protestant concerns of the Reformation. The scientific question of truth, the ecumenical obligations of the church and the

institution to the extent that is advisable and possible here and now." The author attaches special importance to the revival of the catechumenate in the case of adults.

CONFESSION. *By Max Thurian. London: SCM Press, Ltd., 1958. 10s. 6d.*

In the Protestant church new attempts are being made to bring back private confession, even if it is only in the sense that the pastoral interview is being treated with new seriousness. This book by Max Thurian of the Taizé community in France has been written to further these strivings toward private confession in Protestantism. The foundation is laid in a study on the theme "The Reformation and Confession." Here the question of absolution occupies the central place. It is

when absolution is taken as a starting point that the examination of conscience is necessary. In the chapter devoted to such examination the author gives an example of a pattern for confession. He also discusses the questions connected with the problem of "father confessor and spiritual guidance"; matters, that is, which have become quite strange to the Protestant—to his disadvantage. That a book of this kind cannot bypass the question of "Confession and Psychoanalysis" is almost self-evident today. For this reason the foreword by Hermann Dietzfelbinger, bishop of the Lutheran church in Bavaria, is entitled "Confession, a Help against Evil and Sin." The book has also appeared in German, under the title *Evangelische Beichte* (Munich: Christian Kaiser Verlag, 1958. 174 pp., DM 8.40).

problem of making the church a significant factor in the world have been forgotten or are being subjected to clericalistic attempts at a solution. Theology and the church can deal with the social and ethical problems of modern democracy not by recourse to authoritarian thinking or presbyterian democratic thought, but only by making a "liberal," i.e., rational and proximate, application of the Lutheran *justitia civilis*, which rests on the fundamental ecclesiological distinction between the means of grace (the ministry of the church) and the church (the church's mission to the world). For this reason it devolves upon Protestantism to take the lead in the world of today.

Practical Theology

MISSION IN DER GEGENWÄRTIGEN WELTSTUNDE. *Berichte, Vorträge und Dokumente von der Weltmissionskonferenz in Ghana. ("Weltmission heute," Heft 9-10). Edited by Walter Freytag. Stuttgart: Evangelischer Missionsverlag, 1958. 60 pp., DM 2.40.*

In addition to two reports on the character and problems of the conference as a whole, this booklet contains a cross-section of the lectures, deliberations and decisions of the sixth assembly of the International Missionary Council in Achimota, Ghana, December 28, 1957 to January 8, 1958. The three lectures included are by John A. Mackay, U Kyaw Than and W. Freytag. In contrast to previous assemblies of the IMC this one was a "second-generation" assembly: "The IMC has now reached a point in its history where it must strive not to formulate new aims, but to bring to bear in a changed situation those aims which have been recognized as right" (p. 16). Consequently this report also gives a glimpse into the struggle with the practical questions of missions—the training of pastors and theologians, the attitude of Christians to their pagan fellow-countrymen, the autonomy of the younger churches. Finally, the discussion and approval by a large majority of the resolution to integrate the IMC and the World Council of Churches make clear how emphatically the Christian "mission in the world today" was understood as a task laid upon the one church of Christ.

A report in English, containing some of the same material as the German report but

a good many other papers as well, has been edited by R. K. Orchard: *The Ghana Assembly of the International Missionary Council, 28th December 1957 to 8th January 1958; London: Edinburgh House Press, 1958. 240 pp., 12s. 6d. (price in United Kingdom).*

DIE TAUFGE, EINE GENETISCHE ERKLÄRUNG DER TAUF-LITURGIE [*Baptism: An Explanation of its Liturgy through its Lineage*]. By Alois Stenzel, S.J. Innsbruck: Felician Rauch, 1958. 319 pp., DM 23.80.

The author traces "the lineage of the centuries-old development of the baptismal liturgy from its simple essence to the almost impenetrably complex structure" prescribed for adult baptism in the present-day baptismal ritual of the Roman Catholic Church. The present rite goes back to an "Apostolic Constitution" of Paul V from the year 1614. Father Jungmann, S.J., who included this work in the series he and Father Hugo Rahner edit (*Forschungen zur Geschichte der Theologie und des innerkirchlichen Lebens*), says in the foreword that this work on "the first and most necessary sacrament" constitutes a parallel to his own work on the Eucharist, *Missarum sollemnia*. Stenzel, after defining the New Testament foundations of his work, pursues the development of the baptismal liturgy up to the church order of Hippolytus; then he deals with the baptismal rite in the period of the "classical catechumenate." In each case the treatment of East and West is separate. Particular weight is attached to the origin of the specific rites connected with baptism (e.g. the salt rite), a special section being devoted to the scrutiny rite. The last section deals with the development leading to the present baptismal rite of the Roman Catholic Church. In conclusion the author makes various suggestions for changes in the present liturgy, one being that all fictitious dialogues with the child are as such out of place. The essence of Holy Baptism, he says, is that through the church the God of grace grants to or bestows on a child the saving Christ-event. The author also proposes changes in adult baptism: "If a large part of the present ceremony is well-preserved anachronism, then only two basic attitudes to it are possible: a keen examination of its substance with the aim of eradicating everything which is meaningful only in the framework of an institution like baptism, or the revitalization of this

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